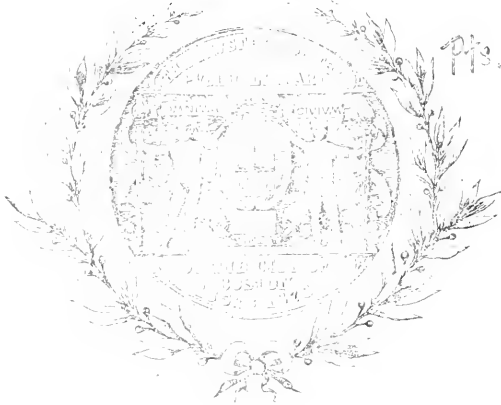




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**STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM**  
**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MATUSOW CASE**

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**HEARING**

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

*Congress.*  
*at e.* COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 58**

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MARCH 2, 1955

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**PART 5**

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## SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

# STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 2, 1955

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY ACT  
AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS, OF  
THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 2:15 p. m., in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland, McClellan, Daniel, Jenner, Welker, and Butler.

Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Robert C. McManus, professional staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Sourwine.

## TESTIMONY OF HARVEY M. MATUSOW, ACCOMPANIED BY STANLEY FAULKNER, HIS ATTORNEY—Resumed

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, can you furnish the committee with any documents tending to establish the truth of the testimony you are now giving with regard to the falsity of your previous testimony?

Mr. MATUSOW. Some of the documentation, I believe, I have already agreed to, and proof of the material in the book, some of those documents.

I think, sir, some things would have to be spelled out, and I would be able to determine or tell you if documentation exists on some of these charges.

Mr. SOURWINE. No; I want to give you a chance to tell the committee on the record about any documentation, the whereabouts of which you know, or to present any. It is understood you are offering your book as documentation of what you now say is the truth. If you are now offering any additional documentation, I would like to have you do it for the record now.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, certain documentation that appears in the book, I did not last week bring the proofs of that documentation with me, and the committee requested it, and I have brought that. For instance—

Mr. SOURWINE. Those are the items which appear as plates or illustrations in your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, yes, sir; but they were not here last week.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have furnished the committee, however, with copies of the book, have you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That book is not a part of our record, but is an exhibit and has been identified, and has been sworn to by you as all the truth.

Mr. MATUSOW. I might request, sir, that because some of the documents or copies of them, which I will get the originals of, and forward to the committee by mail, registered mail, of these very documents that I am producing now, do have a bearing on some of the testimony outside of the book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you have been requested before now to let us have the originals of any of those documents.

Mr. MATUSOW. That was a misunderstanding, sir. Last week I said I would bring the proofs, and I thought that is what you wanted.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, aside from that material which appears in the book, is there any other documentation of which the committee ought to take notice?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I believe I mentioned correspondence with Mr. Paul Crouch in relation to the Federation of Former Communists, which I have stated I will submit to the committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, precisely what is this document?

Mr. MATUSOW. Correspondence with Mr. Paul Crouch dealing with the Federation of Former Communists.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, since it is hoped that we will be able to get through with your direct testimony today, in submitting that material will you send with it an affidavit identifying it that can go in the record with that material that you forward?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will do that, sir.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Matusow—excuse me.

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, will the—my counsel has just reminded me of a conversation I have had with him in the past about whether or not the photostatic copy of such documentation will be sufficient for the committee or if I send the photostat with an original, if the committee will return the original to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you send the photostat with the original the committee will return the original. If you do not have the original and are only able to send the photostat, please cover the situation in your affidavit; identify the photostat as a photostat of an original, to which you can testify or whatever the situation actually may be.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir; no problem.

Mr. FAULKNER. All we are interested in is getting back the original.

Mr. SOURWINE. We are only interested in getting the material before the committee in a proper manner and adequately identified.

If you had had it here today the witness could have identified it and it could have gone directly into the record.

Mr. MATUSOW. There is one document of which the original is not in my hands, and I believe Mr. Drew Pearson in a column a few weeks ago mentioned that he had the originals of that document, which has bearing on my testimony, and I believe I offered to furnish it to the committee. That is the original of what I show you here, the six



handwritten notes from Arvilla Bentley, dealing with the trip to Nassau and the financial irregularities involved there.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is the notes from your wife that you sold, Mr. Matusow—you sold Mr. Pearson for \$250?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right; he has the originals.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir.

You are offering all that material to us now?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; these are proofs of the documents which—

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you want to tell the committee where any other or additional documentation can be found or do you want to offer to produce any further documents?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I have some other material here that the committee requested and that we had discussed.

I have here two spools of wire from a wire recorder that are a true copy of the speech which I gave in Montana—I believe offhand, I don't recall if it was Livingston or Red Lodge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the tape show that?

Mr. MATUSOW. The tape does say where the speech was made.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the tape speaks truly on that point?

Mr. MATUSOW. From the wire, and it is a true copy of a speech; I believe there was a slight break between reel 1 and reel 2 where a few words were lost, but other than that it is a speech, one of the speeches, made.

Mr. SOURWINE. Does the speech speak truly as to where it was made?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. May that be received as the next numbered exhibit, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The two spools referred to were marked as "Exhibit 27," and are on file with the committee.)

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, if the witness testifies that there has been a break in the wire recording or whatever it is, how is this committee to determine whether it was 1 paragraph or 50 paragraphs? I think we are getting on rather dangerous ground affecting the witness as well as this committee, and I merely submit that to the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received.

Mr. Matusow, did I understand a statement that counsel put to you in the form of a question, that you sold Mr. Drew Pearson some information regarding your own wife for \$250?

Mr. MATUSOW. It was not my wife at that time, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You sold Mr. Pearson this information before you were married; is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. Long before it; yes, sir; it is part of the record of yesterday; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to straighten the record.

Mr. Matusow, you have stated that on past occasions you have maligned a number of individuals and have testified falsely under oath, that they are or have been members of the Communist Party, to your knowledge.

I have here a list of such individuals that I am going to send to you and ask you to identify which of them you testified falsely about.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

MR. MATUSOW. Do you want me to check them or read them?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you can do either. It would expedite the matter if you would check them.

I will tell you, I expect you had better read them into the record.

MR. MATUSOW. I would want to read them, first, and make sure that to my recollection they are names which I previously identified.

MR. SOURWINE. Do you doubt, Mr. Matusow, the accuracy of the chairman's statement that this is a list of persons whom you have in sworn testimony before congressional committees previously identified with the Communist Party?

MR. MATUSOW. No, sir; but I think it is at all possible for a stenographer or typist to make a mistake, and I would like to check that.

MR. SOURWINE. You were not asked, Mr. Matusow, to verify this list. You were only asked to read any names on this list who are persons concerning whom you have testified falsely.

The CHAIRMAN. Give him an opportunity now to do it, Mr. Sourwine.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

MR. FAULKNER. Do you have a duplicate of this?

MR. SOURWINE. We will send for one.

MR. FAULKNER. Will you give me a duplicate of this one?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I believe, perhaps, the record should show that a copy of this is being furnished to Mr. Faulkner, the counsel for the witness.

MR. FAULKNER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Please identify the list. It would save time if you would identify that list for the record, Mr. Sourwine.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I apologize for not having done that sooner.

This list, which has been furnished the witness, is a list prepared and checked by the staff of the committee, and purports to be and, to the best of my knowledge is, a full and complete list of those persons who have been identified with the Communist Party by Harvey Matusow in testimony, public sessions, before committees of the Congress prior to this series of hearings. I ask Mr. Matusow to identify the list which has been handed to the witness so that it may be admitted into our record.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

The CHAIRMAN. Are you ready to testify? Are you ready now, Mr. Matusow?

MR. MATUSOW. I will read in the record, sir, the names of the people who I did not know as Communist Party members on this list. I presume that is what you wanted me to do, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. The question was persons concerning whom you testified falsely.

MR. MATUSOW. All right, sir; I will start at the top of the list.

The CHAIRMAN. I think the press ought to have a copy of it.

MR. SOURWINE. May I, Mr. Chairman, proceed with another question and come back to this in a moment when the copies are available?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

MR. MATUSOW. Wait a second, Mr. Sourwine, please.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

MR. MATUSOW. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, while we are waiting for additional copies to be made available, I want to see that the record speaks clearly on whether you have any additional documentation that you want to either furnish the committee or tell us about to support your present story as to when you have previously lied.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, you are just limiting it to my false testimony as opposed to my true testimony?

Mr. SOURWINE. The committee is primarily interested in the question of the truth or falsity of your statements now or at another time. You are now stating that you are recanting a good deal of previous testimony, and I am asking about documentary evidence with regard to that testimony.

Mr. MATUSOW. Just in relation to that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Necessarily, I do not want to open the door to a production of documentary evidence on any and every subject that you might want to bring before the committee.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right. I just wanted to make sure that you didn't want certain material which I might be able to produce in relation to other witnesses against whom I have testified falsely.

Mr. SOURWINE. We want you to make your own selection of material which you want to bring to this committee as documentation of what you now say is the truth. If you have any documentation respecting anything concerning which you have testified to that you either want to give to the committee or tell the committee the whereabouts of, please do it now.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe, sir, that documentation which does exist I will forward to the committee with the affidavits you requested covering such documentation.

Mr. SOURWINE. And may it be understood that any such documentation which you do not forward to the committee by—when would be fair, the first of next week?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, I have to be in El Paso, Tex., and I think you want something done which can't be done until I know what is going to happen in Texas and my appearance before the grand jury.

Mr. SOURWINE. Fix your own deadline. Within what time can you get that documentation in the hands of the committee?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. MATUSOW. I would want about 2 weeks from the day I return from El Paso.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a little indefinite. Would you say—

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, the State of Texas might keep me there for a month; I don't know, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I defer to the Chair. This is for the Chair to decide how long you are to have.

The CHAIRMAN. We will give him a week after they are through with him in Texas.

Senator WELKER. Do you understand the Chair's order, 1 week after they are through with you in Texas?

Mr. MATUSOW. At that time I am now to have all documentation that I think is relevant in relation to my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. That can substantiate your testimony.

Mr. SOURWINE. All that you care to furnish to the committee or call to the attention of the committee for the purpose of substan-

tiating the testimony you have given to the committee in this series of hearings.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir. I don't think it could be done in a week, but the Chair has ordered so, and it will be incomplete, I am sure, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; if you want 2 weeks, then——

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; I will give you 2 weeks.

Mr. MATUSOW. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you do it in 2 weeks, Mr. Matusow?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. Then it is understood what you do not submit or call to the attention of the committee when they are through with you in Texas is to be assumed as outside the scope of what you desire to submit to the committee or to have the committee consider?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, you are setting up ironclad rules. I will have to abide by them, because that is what you say.

Mr. SOURWINE. This matter is your choice.

Mr. MATUSOW. But, sir, I cannot say that 2 weeks and a day after I complete this, something else comes to my attention which I overlooked, and I think I doubt if there will be any such thing, but if it is important enough, I will send it to the committee and the committee may decide.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all right. Proceed

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, have you stated that while working in the children's polio ward of a Houston, Tex., hospital——

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I said Dallas, Tex.

Mr. SOURWINE. Accepting the correction, have you stated that while working in the children's polio ward of a Dallas, Tex., hospital, you found courage to undo the harm you had caused many persons by testifying falsely against them?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not quite that simple, sir. I said so in Judge Dimock's court, part of an answer which I gave; that is, not a complete answer, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, after you had left Dallas and gone to New York, didn't you state and write that you were not trying to undo any wrong that you had done others; that you did not feel the wrong could be undone?

Mr. MATUSOW. Are you quoting me, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask you if it is not true that after you had left Dallas and gone to New York you stated and wrote that you were not trying to undo any wrong that you had done others; that you did not feel the wrong could be undone?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't believe that the quote tells the thing or in substance says what I said in what I wrote, and I know what you are quoting from, sir.

You are leaving out the substance of that preface to—that I didn't use in the book. I think that quote, you will find, on page 2 of the first preface draft.

Mr. SOURWINE. No, Mr. Matusow. It is page 4.

Mr. MATUSOW. Page 4. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did I leave out, Mr. Matusow?

Mr. MATUSOW. You left out the whole substance of what I said there. You read 2 lines or 3 lines of what, I believe, was 12 pages or 11 pages.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, wasn't that the only point at which you spoke about the undoing of wrongs and your feeling that wrongs could not be undone, and the fact that you had no desire to undo wrongs?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I think, if you will take the last paragraph of that, the quote from Robert Burns' poem, "a man's a man for a' that," you will find out what I meant to say.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, weren't you told by Mr. Kahn to change your line on that, and to stress your desire to undo, so far as possible, so far as you could, the harm that had been done?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I don't know what editorial note Mr. Kahn made on that, because it is very vague. I decided not to use the whole preface, but he might have felt the statement in that was a little ambiguous, and your quoting, as you are, sir, proves to me maybe it is right; it is ambiguous.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, were you aware at the time you were giving information to the Federal Bureau of Investigation that it was a penal offense to give false information to the FBI?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever testify that you were paid by the FBI for lying?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't believe there is any testimony to that extent or to that substance; no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever paid by the FBI for lying?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. If you had been paid by the FBI for lying, Mr. Matusow, who would know better than you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I say, sir, not that I know of. At no time during the present hearing or at any time have I tried to insinuate that the FBI was responsible for any of my lies.

The CHAIRMAN. Your answer then is a straight "no;" is it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir. The answer is in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. No hedging.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, the other day I asked for insertion in the record of a number of items from the Daily Worker showing how—

The CHAIRMAN. That will be admitted.

Mr. SOURWINE. And I would like to ask Mr. Matusow, did you read, sir, an article in the Daily Worker of March 1, 1955, with the title "Corrupt Justice Department Bared in Matusow Confessions?"

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

(The article referred to was numbered "Exhibit No. 28" and appears below:)

#### CORRUPT JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BARED IN MATUSOW CONFESSIONS

(By William L. Patterson)

Extremely grave dangers exist that the real issues presented to the American people by the confessions of Harvey M. Matusow will be distorted. These dangers are daily being aggravated by the methods now being employed in the many grand jury, court, and congressional committee hearings before which he is called. Undoubtedly there is a conscious desire and intent to obscure the picture.

The spotlight of American public opinion, of world opinion for that matter, must be turned upon the role played by the Department of Justice, that agency of Government pledged to see that due process of law prevails in political trials as well as all others. The corruption of the Department of Justice is the real issue.

The issue is not the mental state of Matusow, nor his avarice and/or his cupidity. The vital issues do not revolve around questions concerning the credulity or incredulity of the Justice Department or of the many judges before whom he testified.

The Department of Justice has been exposed as repeatedly handling all manner of filthy lies, if only those lies could be used to besmirch the character and aims of the people whose convictions were so desperately sought.

The question before the American public raised by the sensational disclosure of Matusow is: Why were those convictions so desperately sought that the Justice Department would act with criminal irresponsibility to secure them?

The question is: Will that branch of Government—the Legislature—which, through its Senate Judiciary Committee, can investigate the Justice Department's use of perjurers to imprison Americans, call such an investigation?

The question is: Will the conscience of America be aroused to a degree that the demand for new trials will overwhelm all opposition, all cries to hush up these monstrous machinations?

The metropolitan press is seeking deliberately, frantically, to obscure these questions and make the present state of mind of Matusow the center of all investigations. Matusow is an American product, born of the anti-Communist hysteria that has been the dominant characteristic of the cold war era. Matusow is not alone. The Department of Justice would not have been able to secure one conviction without the use of perjured testimony.

The conspiracy charges made by the paid perjurers for that Department were an imperative necessity for such court proceedings, such congressional committee hearings, such loyalty oaths, such Subversive Activities Control Board hearings as have taken place in this era.

It is this fact that makes American officialdom so frantic. Matusow blasts one charge of conspiracy, the charge by which the Department of Justice sought to destroy the constitutional liberties of the people, and at once exposes the terrifying conspiracy of that Department to act as an instrument for Fascist-minded leaders of American life.

Those who create Matusow must now seek to revive their artificial hysteria and a new wave of legal terror. The only preventative is the people.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has a historic responsibility. Tell it so. It must investigate the Operation Perjury.

A new trial is the least that should be granted in those cases where the Matusows, Johnsons, Bentleys, and Budenzes have performed.

His revelations confirm the need to free completely all those framed under the Smith Act.

The honor of the American people is at stake.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** Mr. Matusow, how many times did you talk with Bishop Oxniam during 1954?

**Mr. MATUSOW.** Two times.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** Only twice; that is only on two occasions?

**Mr. MATUSOW.** On two occasions I talked to him. There might have been a phone call with Bishop Oxniam which would constitute a third talk, but not in the substance of your question.

**Mr. SOURWINE.** Solely in the interests, Mr. Matusow, of speeding up this hearing in the hope, which is the hope of the committee, that we can conclude your testimony today so that when your attorney undertakes other matters he will not have to come back here with you again, I want to say that while we appreciate the material that you volunteer in response to questions, we will get along much faster if you will try to confine yourself to the bare necessary response. If whenever you feel that it is necessary in your own interest to explain an answer, you may have the chance to do that; but I will attempt in the questions to cover the points that the committee desires infor-

mation on, and long rambling answers volunteering information frequently will anticipate other questions and delay the proceeding.

I hope where you can you will answer "yes" or "no" and keep it to that.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sourwine, go into the names now.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, if I may interrupt, has it been ordered that the Daily Worker article of March 1, 1955, be admitted in evidence?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Returning to the list which the chairman sent you, Mr. Matusow, will you name those persons whose names appear on that list concerning whom you testified falsely.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe at this time, after looking at the list, and not having read the testimony, that some aspect of my testimony regarding each of these individuals, to the best of my recollection now, is false.

The CHAIRMAN. That is every person?

Mr. MATUSOW. Some aspect of the testimony relating to these people is false.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is the aspect?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, that is what I asked counsel before, if he wanted me to show where I wrongly identified somebody or did I say somebody did something that the person didn't do, to my knowledge; there are many aspects to this, sir; many ways to give false testimony.

Sir, just so the record is clear on that last statement, there might be 1 or 2 names here that I did not give false testimony about, but at this time, not having read that testimony, I could not be sure of it.

The CHAIRMAN. But in some aspect of your testimony, all of these individuals you testified falsely about?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe that it is possible and maybe probable that some testimony relating to each of these individuals—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. Was false or left a wrong impression in that way being false.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I have had that deliberately released to the press, and it is very imperative that in that state of an answer these individuals be given an opportunity to come forward to defend themselves. I think we owe it, in full justice to the individuals and also to test whether or not, and in what particulars, Mr. Matusow is telling the truth.

I hereby offer to each of these individuals, in the name of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, an opportunity to come forward to affirm or deny or explain the charges as to Communist Party affiliation which have been placed into the record by Mr. Matusow.

Proceed, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Returning to the matter of your talks to Bishop Oxnam, sir, newspaper accounts have quoted Bishop Oxnam as saying in a speech at Evanston, Ill., that you came to him at a meeting in New York between sessions of something. Do you know what those sessions were?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir: I don't recall at this point. I believe he had some ministerial convention of some kind.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you stated before the House Un-American Activities Committee that you met Bishop Oxnam not at a meeting but at a radio broadcast "not knowing he would be there and I introduced myself."

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, what was the meeting at which you met him?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, it was at the radio broadcast, but he was between sessions of some convention of some kind which he told me about.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the radio broadcast?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe it was the Tex and Jinx show, Peacock Alley, at the Waldorf-Astoria.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you introduced yourself?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I recall: yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you know him by sight?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't. He was—somebody mentioned his name, as I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who pointed him out to you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. In Judge Dimock's court, Mr. Matusow, you testified that you met Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam by chance on the publication date of his book *I Protest*.

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall the publication date, but that was the date.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the date when you met him at the Peacock Alley show?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was told it was the date; it might have been the next day that the book was released, but it wasn't a day or so off.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the first time you had met him?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you have an appointment with him?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, Mr. Matusow, tell Bishop Oxnam that you planned a trip to the Soviet Union?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, again, yes—not at that meeting, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you tell him that?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I think I told him that the same day I told that to Mr. Irons at the Justice Department back in June, May or June—it might have been April, of 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are dragging in some more volunteer testimony.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; I want to show that the Government also knew of this thing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, you are testifying about a dead man, don't you know it?

Mr. MATUSOW. David Irons?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not know this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell Bishop Oxnam that you planned a trip to the Soviet Union; that is, did you in May 1954 tell him that?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not tell him I was planning a trip; I believe I said "I have applied for a visa to go to the Soviet Union."

Mr. SOURWINE. What did he say to that?



Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall what he said to that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you talk with Bishop Oxnam about your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. In what state was the book at that time?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I had done about a hundred pages.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had done a hundred pages?

Mr. MATUSOW. In draft; maybe 80.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that the so-called McCarthy chapter?

Mr. MATUSOW. Only part, about 15, 20 pages on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. The McCarthy chapter was 15 or 20 pages?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the rest of the material about?

Mr. MATUSOW. The rest of the material dealt with other portions of the book; I don't recall what I had written.

Mr. SOURWINE. And did you show that material to Bishop Oxnam?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't believe I showed all of it to him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you show any of it to him?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Why would you show him only part of it? You kept it all together, did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Certain parts were in a more final state and readable, and other parts were not, and in draft stage, and I didn't show those to people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you show him the so-called McCarthy chapter?

Mr. MATUSOW. I seem to recall doing so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you show him any other part of the book?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not that I recall, but it is possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you at that time ask Bishop Oxnam for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I asked him if he knew of anybody who would subsidize my book; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in any other way ask him for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I borrowed a \$5 bill from him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you paid it back?

Mr. MATUSOW. I haven't seen him since.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you paid it back?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I was a sneak.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him you would be willing to receive \$1,500 toward publication of your book by receiving an anonymous telephone call from someone indicating that the money would be available?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; so as not to get anybody involved with that book by any such proceeding as this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you to know who the anonymous lender was?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't want to know, and I wasn't to know; that is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that indicate that you knew that anyone who might be willing to subsidize your book might not want it known that he had done so?

Mr. MATUSOW. I knew that anybody who might subsidize my book would be persecuted by hearings such as this, and by the press because of the controversial nature of my book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that \$1,500 that you suggested an exact amount that you actually needed or was it just a figure you picked out of the air, an amount that you hoped maybe you could get?

Mr. MATUSOW. I estimated that \$1,500 would cover me for 6 months and subsidize me for that time in the writing of my book.

Mr. SOURWINE. You asked a lot of different people for \$1,500 each; did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I asked a lot of people if they knew of any publisher or individual who would subsidize me in the writing of that book; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, Mr. Matusow, make to anyone else the suggestion you made to Bishop Oxnham about an anonymous telephone call from someone indicating that the money would be available?

Mr. MATUSOW. I might have. I don't recall now who, if any.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you name any other person whom you approached on this matter, to whom you made that proposition concerning an anonymous phone call?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall to whom I might have said that to now, sir, no. I think I did say it, but I don't recall to whom I said it to.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was there anything special about your relationship to Bishop Oxnham that led you to make that proposition to him?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't make it to him alone, as I have stated, but I don't know to whom else; there wasn't anything about it. I know he didn't like the committees, and would be anxious to see a book of mine, of that nature, out, at least I felt so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you honestly trying to get a loan of \$1,500 or were you trying to get \$1,500 as a gift or money you would not have to pay back?

Mr. MATUSOW. I say it was a loan.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am asking you if you honestly were trying to get a loan?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; I was honestly trying to get a loan.

Mr. SOURWINE. You intended to pay it back?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, how did you propose to pay back money to an anonymous donor whose identity you did not know?

Mr. MATUSOW. I would have managed it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Tell us how.

Mr. MATUSOW. If I told you how—

Mr. SOURWINE. That is a better trick than a stringless yo-yo. Tell us how.

Mr. MATUSOW. Not quite better, sir, because the way in which I had gotten the money from the anonymous lender—

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you gotten any money?

Mr. MATUSOW. The way I would have, the way it was set up in a hypothetical sense—you are asking me a question, now you are going to get an answer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. The way I would have gotten the money from the anonymous donor loaned, would have been returned by the same individual or at the same place that the money was picked up; quite simple. It had to be picked up from somewhere.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you have it arranged with Bishop Oxnham, or what proposal did you make to him?

Mr. MATUSOW. We didn't go into too much detail at the time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I want to know what your arrangement was. You said it was the way it was arranged you could have paid it back. I do not know how.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I don't have too much of a recollection about it, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, have a way planned for paying it back?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said I did; sufficient.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, how, what was that way?

Mr. MATUSOW. I forget right now; it is a long time ago; a lot of water has gone under the bridge since then.

Senator WELKER. How long ago?

Mr. MATUSOW. It was almost a year ago—this was March—it was almost—last April or May, so almost a year.

Senator WELKER. That was—Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. That was 3 months after you publicly and under oath called Bishop Oxnam a dishonest man?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, that was prior to that, sir.

Senator WELKER. Prior to?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. When did you call Bishop Oxnam a dishonest man?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oxnam, G. Bromley Oxnam; July 12, 1954.

Senator WELKER. July 12, 1954?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. And notwithstanding your prior public and under oath declaration—

Mr. MATUSOW. Subsequent, not prior, sir.

Senator WALKER. All right; subsequent, then, declaration that he was, in fact, a dishonest man, you had had a so-called change of heart; is that correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I stated for the record, the reason for calling him a dishonest man, and I think the record should show that, sir, was because I believed he had violated a privileged conversation with me. Any conversation I have of that nature with a member of the clergy I considered privileged, and I believe he had no business discussing it in public in any specific—and he did discuss it and, therefore, in my opinion he was a dishonest man for doing so. Let's have the record straight as to why I called him a dishonest man.

Senator WELKER. Yes. But you didn't call him a dishonest man because of the fact that he had released some religious conversation that you had?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, I say he violated a privileged conversation, and that was my reason, and that is my reason today, for calling him that then, and I still maintain that any clergyman who violates a privileged conversation is dishonest, a dishonest man in that respect, regardless of who he is.

(Senator Daniel entered the hearing room.)

Senator WELKER. You assume if I talk to any clergyman and ask him to lend me \$5, and he told someone about it, he would be a dishonest man?

MR. MATUSOW. Let's get to the core of it, sir. I am not talking about the \$5; I am talking about the nature of our conversation.

SENATOR WELKER. All right, \$20 or \$50 or \$1,500.

MR. MATUSOW. I told him he could release or talk to some of the people about the poetry I wrote. One was about the atom bomb called For Whom the Boom Dooms. I didn't mind that.

SENATOR WELKER. I hope we will have some of your poetry in the record before long, but I believe you are quite wrong when you say that was a privileged communication. I do not desire to argue the law with you.

MR. MATUSOW. Sir, I have read the statute book, and I could find it for you. It was brought up before Judge Dimock's court. It shows that any conversation brought up is legally privileged; in fact, counsel for this committee has agreed, because he wanted such conversation with another which has come up, and he asked me if I was willing to waive that privilege.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, for the record, since counsel has been mentioned, counsel's position with regard to the privilege between priest and parishioner or between a communicant and a spiritual adviser is that the privilege entails only when there are no other persons present, and the communication is in the nature of a confession or a request for spiritual advice, and it is communicated at a time and a place and under circumstances which are in accordance with the doctrine or the discipline of the church to which the clergyman belongs.

No other communications with or from or to a member of the clergy or a priest or bishop or any other church official are in any way privileged under the law, in the opinion of this counsel.

MR. MATUSOW. All right, sir; but I considered the conversation with Bishop Oxnam at the Methodist Building here on Maryland Avenue across the street, in the nature of a confession, and I considered it privileged in accordance with the statutes of the United States; I forget the title and code number.

SENATOR WELKER. Mr. Chairman, just one more question.

Had you had any legal advice with respect to the privilege?

MR. MATUSOW. I didn't have any until the United States attorney, Judge J. Edward Lombard, raised the question and quoted the statute, title, and code in Judge Dimock's court a week ago today in relation to a conversation I had had with another clergyman which I believed was privileged, and the court held the decision on that until the check.

SENATOR WELKER. That conversation, as I read in the newspaper, wherein you actually, at least, attempted to seek religious relief—

MR. MATUSOW. Well, I considered the Bishop Oxnam discussion of the same nature, in the nature of a confession, and I don't want to go into it, sir, because I still maintain many of the points of that discussion are privileged; though Bishop Oxnam has released it, I have not.

SENATOR WELKER. I did not hear your answer.

MR. MATUSOW. The matters discussed by Bishop Oxnam and myself that deal with the nature of a confession or the nature of spiritual advice, I am not going to discuss now, and it is a privileged reason for it. Other matters contained in that discussion, the loan of \$5,

I have discussed it. It has nothing to do with spiritual advice, or my book or other matters which I have discussed and would discuss freely. But matters that are privileged, according to law, moral and legal, I will not discuss here, sir.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Now, you are definite on that, and you contradict our counsel on his view of the law?

Mr. MATUSOW. Counsel has said, agreed, when he said any spiritual discussion in the nature of a confession, and so forth.

Senator WELKER. And then you hedged around, and went over to the State of Texas wherein you really sought, according to your testimony, some religious relief.

Mr. MATUSOW. I am not going to go into that, sir.

Senator WELKER. I am not asking you to go into it.

Mr. MATUSOW. You have been bringing in a lot of matters that are not relevant to this, my marriage and divorce, and now this, sir.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct him to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Repeat the question and I will order him to answer it.

Senator WELKER. You brought into this matter the fact that you sought religious comfort and relief over in the State of Texas. I am not mentioning the minister or whoever it might be or what faith, but you do not want to leave the impression here that you sought the same thing with Bishop Oxnam?

Mr. MATUSOW. It is Oxnam, sir.

Senator WELKER. You have attempted to claim the privilege on—

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, all my life, the most part of my life—

Senator WELKER. Will you answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, I have. I went to church when I was in Texas, and I sought much spiritual advice from members of my church and clergymen in my church in the State of Texas and elsewhere. I am not ashamed of that, but I am not going to discuss it here.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

You know the question. I am asking you only the simple fact: The religious relief that you sought in the State of Texas or elsewhere, was it the same that you say you attempted to receive or did receive from the bishop of the Methodist Church?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, you are trying to come in through the back door to get me to waive that privilege, and I am not going to do that.

Senator WELKER. All right, sir; I did not think you would, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

Senator WELKER. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, in court you testified you met Bishop Oxnam at his office in Washington at 4 p. m., on a Sunday, in the spring of 1954.

Mr. MATUSOW. Or it might have been 4:15 p. m.; I believe I said that. I said the appointment was for 4 o'clock.

Mr. SOURWINE. You said you showed him some paper you had written. Was that—

Mr. MATUSOW. I showed him some what, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. "Some paper," were the words you used in court I want to find out if the paper you were referring to was the M. Carthy chapter of your book.

Mr. MATUSOW. Part of the paper was the poem For Whom the Moom Dooms.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that paper or document that you showed him comprise or include a confession?

Mr. MATUSOW. If any of it did, sir, it would be privileged. I think my activities in the campaign in Wisconsin in 1952 was in the form of a confession at that time. It might be considered so and might not, but if any of it did, sir, I am not going to discuss the nature of it.

I think to say if it included this or that or the other thing, I believe the question of privilege—and, as I understand the law, I am invoking that privilege, which is not the fifth amendment, but a moral one, because I believe that it falls and is covered by the law which deals with that type of privilege, and to explain to counsel any part of that or what I consider so that counsel may weigh it, would be a violation of that privilege, sir.

Senator WELKER. One question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Senator WELKER. Is it not a fact, in your testimony you gave yesterday as a result of the interrogation by our chairman, Senator Eastland, of Mississippi, relating to your testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee in July of 1954, you claimed you were telling the truth?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yesterday I claimed I was telling the truth when? I am a little confused about that, sir.

Senator WELKER. When they interrogated you with respect to the names you had called Bishop Oxnam—

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right, sir, Oxnam.

Senator WELKER. I have finally got it right, Oxnam—a dishonest person.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe, sir, the quote is, I believe I said the quote in the testimony, to my recollection, which is true, that is I said that, and I meant it, if Bishop Oxnam was quoted directly by the newspapers, then Bishop Oxnam is a dishonest man; I believe that is how it reads in the testimony.

Senator WELKER. All right, dishonest man or dishonest person.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said "man," I believe. Maybe I said "person." You are probably right; you have the testimony.

Senator WELKER. Very well. I am not arguing between "man" and "person," but you told the truth then when Chairman Eastland interrogated you with respect to your subsequent testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee yesterday?

Mr. MATUSOW. In relation to that question, sir?

Senator WELKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; about whether or not I called Bishop Oxnam a dishonest man; yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. Yes, sir; and all the other interrogation that he gave you with respect to your testimony given before that.

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't know one way or another, sir. I would have to go back in the record, and you would have to spell it out for me.

Senator WELKER. I probably would.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. But Senator Eastland spelled it out for you completely yesterday.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know how complete it was, but I think the record will speak for itself, sir.

Senator WELKER. I think it will.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, you stated in court that Bishop Oxnam said he would see if he could find a publisher for you. We have asked you questions about that here before, and I would like to ask you if your recollection has been refreshed in any way. Do you know now whether Bishop Oxnam did anything in pursuance of that promise to you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know one way or another what Bishop Oxnam did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know, sir, whether it is true that Bishop Oxnam and Mr. Cameron first became acquainted at Greencastle, Ind., while Mr. Cameron was attending De Pauw University?

Mr. MATUSOW. I haven't the slightest—I haven't the slightest—sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. And Bishop Oxnam was then the president of that university?

Mr. MATUSOW. I haven't the slightest idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you testify in court that you have not seen Bishop Oxnam since May of 1953?

Mr. MATUSOW. Since my last meeting; if it was in May, since that last date; that is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is since the meeting concerning which you have here testified, which took place at the Methodist Building and was in the spring of 1954, you have not seen the Bishop?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you been in communication with him?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, in your affidavit in the Flynn case, you speak of contacting defense counsel.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you by that mean attorneys for the 13 Communist leaders?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What such attorneys did you contact?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I made contact with Miss Mary Kaufman and Mr., I believe, Robert Lewis.

Mr. SOURWINE. When and where did you contact Miss Mary Kaufman?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't recall now. In relation to that affidavit, I believe a few days prior to the affidavits being drawn up, but where we met, at my office or the publishers' office, at the Hotel Chelsea, New York City.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, your answer was you do not remember, and the rest of your testimony simply established that fact.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember when and where you first contacted Mr. Lewis?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; it is kind of vague right now.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, did they not contact you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, they might have called me after I suggested that to somebody, that they do call me.

MR. SOURWINE. Well, that is what I am trying to get on the record. Did you suggest that they do call you?

MR. MATUSOW. I think I did. In fact, I am pretty sure I did—wait a minute, let's get the thing straight here. I didn't know who they were, who the attorneys were. I believe I stated to Mr. Kahn at some time and, I believe, I also stated to Mr. Witt, after I signed an affidavit in behalf of his client, Clinton Jencks, that he see, he inquire, as to whether the attorneys for the Communist Party leaders would like an affidavit, because I am willing to give one to them, and then who contacted who is a little vague at that point.

MR. SOURWINE. Haven't you stated; haven't you, as a matter of fact, testified that—let me rephrase that question, Mr. Chairman.

(Senator McClellan and Senator Butler left the committee room.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

MR. SOURWINE. Haven't you, as a matter of fact, testified that Mr. Kahn broached this matter to you?

MR. MATUSOW. Well, I don't know if that testimony exists. I don't know how it is worded.

MR. SOURWINE. What was the fact? Did Mr. Kahn broach this matter to you?

MR. MATUSOW. I don't recall now if Mr. Kahn said "Are you willing to give an affidavit" or if I said to him "Well, Mr. Kahn"—I didn't call him "Mr. Kahn"; we were kind of friendly; I said, "Al, I am ready to give an affidavit to the defendants in the Smith Act case where I testified falsely."

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you receive any money or other remuneration from any of these attorneys for the 13 Communist leaders?

MR. MATUSOW. No, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Did you receive, directly or indirectly, any money or other remuneration from any organization of a Communist character in 1954, or so far this year?

MR. MATUSOW. So far as I know, I have received no money from any Communist organization; and, for all I know, the taxes I pay or the Communist Party members pay might be the money that this committee pays me; that could be indirectly; but other than that I don't know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. Is the firm of Cameron & Kahn a Communist organization?

MR. MATUSOW. Not in my opinion, sir.

MR. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, how did you happen to select your present counsel?

MR. MATUSOW. I believe the record speaks for itself; but I will repeat it for you if you would like, sir. I was served with a subpoena to appear before the grand jury, and I believe that Mr. Kahn, at my suggestion, or at our mutual agreement, contacted Mr. Nathan Witt, and called him and told him of the grand-jury subpoena because he had an interest in this case, because I was due to testify in behalf of his client who I had once falsely accused of being a Communist; and I believe Mr. Kahn also contacted the attorneys for the Communist Party leaders who are also interested in this case because of my testimony which was due in Judge Dimock's court; and Mr. Witt and, I believe, Miss Kaufman—I don't know if she was there—went down to Judge Dimock's court, and in that conversation, I believe, I sug-



gested to Mr. Kahn and to Mr. Witt that Mr. Witt see if he can secure counsel for me, because in this day and age——

The CHAIRMAN. The answer, then, is that your counsel, whether it is material or not, was selected by Mr. Nathan Witt; is that correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. At my request, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At your request?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you paying him anything yourself, that is, your counsel?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Has anyone else agreed to pay him anything, to your knowledge, for his service to you or in connection with your case?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, there is an agreement in relation to this between my publishers and myself, which is not any business of counsel's, and he doesn't know about it, but Mr. Cameron, Mr. Kahn, and myself have decided that all legal fees incurred due to the publication of this book will be shared jointly by Cameron, Kahn, and myself.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you, Mr. Matusow, Mr. Faulkner's client or are you and Mr. Cameron together his clients or is he only serving you as attorney for Cameron & Kahn?

Mr. MATUSOW. He is serving me as attorney for me. What his relationship is with Cameron & Kahn, that is the business of Cameron & Kahn and Mr. Faulkner.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you do not consider that you and the firm of Cameron & Kahn or you and Mr. Cameron or you and Mr. Kahn or you and the two of them together are jointly the clients of Mr. Faulkner?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe our arrangement is we are his clients separately but, of course, certain matters relating to this committee hearing and others, we have a mutual interest involved here and at times discuss—at least I do—with Mr. Cameron and Kahn, matters pertaining to testimony before this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, if I might—I would like the record to be straight on the question of counsel and Mr. Faulkner, and I think it is very important in that answer as to why Mr. Witt, I asked Mr. Witt, to get me counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe at the time that because I was such a controversial person that, in this day, the American Bar, members of the bar, the conservative elements of the bar, are no longer going out and defending unpopular causes, as I considered myself and my present position, which is not part of the American tradition, and that there were very few attorneys in the United States who today come to the defense of what I call the unpopular cause such as my present cause. Mr. Faulkner, I believe, is a very courageous attorney taking such a position to defend such cause as the one I am engaged in right now. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you know the American Bar Association has set up a special committee to provide counsel for unpopular causes?

Mr. MATUSOW. This might be the case, but I have not been informed of it. But in the past, Harvard Law School, during the Sacco-Vanzetti days, conservative elements—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't want to get into an argument.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute. This question is getting—

Mr. MATUSOW. I just wanted to make a statement in behalf of my counsel, and I appreciated it.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that, sir, and I do not think the question has anything to do with it. Let us go.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is your attorney the same Faulkner who defended Irving Peress?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he the same Stanley Faulkner who was attorney for Marvin Belsky?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe so, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that your attorney, Mr. Faulkner, shared offices with Nathan Witt?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is in the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is right.

Mr. FAULKNER. I think—

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Albert E. Kahn as a member of the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. FAULKNER. I think the person who knows best about sharing would be myself, and I think the word "share" may have wrong connotation.

The CHAIRMAN. State what the facts are for the record.

Mr. FAULKNER. The facts are that we each independently—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. FAULKNER (continuing). Rent space in the same office building on the same floor, but we do not share the same single office.

Senator DANIEL. Do you share the same suite of offices?

Mr. FAULKNER. Yes. Mr. Witt, myself, and many other attorneys.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. You have the same waiting room?

Mr. FAULKNER. Same waiting room.

Senator DANIEL. And the same library?

Mr. FAULKNER. Same library, and independent libraries in our own offices.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. But you share one general library?

Mr. FAULKNER. That is right. We all pay our share toward the upkeep of a library.

Senator DANIEL. So your office is in the same suite of offices?

Mr. FAULKNER. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you or do you know Albert E. Kahn as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know him as a writer of Communist publications?

Mr. MATUSOW. What do you mean by Communist publications?

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Kahn as a writer of publications carrying out the Communist party line?

Mr. MATUSOW. I know Mr. Kahn is a writer of, you might say, leftwing publications or unpopular cause publications today.

Mr. SOURWINE. That does not answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, I don't know what the Communist party line is at this point.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then your answer will have to be "No," won't it?

Mr. MATUSOW. It is a very broad thing, this Communist party line; my answer is, no.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you do not know what the Communist party line is, necessarily you do not know Mr. Kahn as a writer of publications which carry out the Communist party line; isn't that true?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then your answer is you do not know Mr. Kahn as a writer of books carrying out the Communist party line?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know—

Mr. MATUSOW. The answer is no.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Mr. Kahn as a writer of books sold by you in Communist Party bookstores?

Mr. MATUSOW. I know Mr. Kahn was a writer of books that I have sold when I worked in Communist bookshops, along with non-Communist books and pro-Communist books, and anti-Communist books.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified, Mr. Matusow, that you saw Mr. Kahn when he participated in a meeting conducted by the Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Was that a Communist-dominated meeting?

Mr. MATUSOW. Dominated by the Council of American-Soviet Friendship is all I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that organization dominated by the Communist Party United States of America?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe the Attorney General is trying to find that out today; I have no opinion about it. The case is before the courts on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you first meet Mr. Kahn in the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was a member of the Communist Party when I first saw Mr. Kahn.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you stated that you met him as a party member?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have sworn under oath in June, I believe, June 2, or 4, 1954, that I knew Albert E. Kahn as a Communist Party member, but I gave false testimony then.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, ever attend Communist Party meetings with him?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have testified that you spent the night on one occasion at his home on Glengary Road, Croton-on-Hudson, N. Y.?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I testified that I spent many nights there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you spent many nights there during the past 6 weeks?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't know, a half dozen, maybe a dozen.

Mr. SOURWINE. You spent the night of Thursday, February 3, there and then drove into New York City with Mr. Kahn in the morning.

Mr. MATUSOW. It might have been or I might have spent the night of Wednesday, February 2 there, and drove in; I don't recall the date, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you drove into New York with Mr. Kahn in a blue Buick, 1949 on the morning of the day on which you were served with a subpoena by this committee: is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe he drives a green Buick, but it is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Matusow, I want to ask you this question.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You know Mr. Carl Marzani?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have met him within the last few weeks, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; have you been with him in Washington?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; unless he was in Washington in 1948 when about 10,000 people came down to lobby against the Mundt-Nixon bill. He might have been there then, but I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Marzani?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, he is one of the people associated with the concern of Cameron Associates; and committee counsel informed me that, I presume, that what counsel said, he was an officer of Liberty Book Club, but I know not of my own knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the acting editor of the March of Labor publication, is he not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Very possible, sir; I don't know. I don't read the publication, am not familiar with it.

The CHAIRMAN. At one time the publicity director of UE?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was never a member of UE, and I have no knowledge of that.

The CHAIRMAN. But the question I want to ask you now—and I want you to think—is, have you talked to Mr. Carl Marzani in Washington within the past 10 days?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow—

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question to tie up a little testimony with respect to Bishop Oxnam. On page 846 of the hearing of the Communist activities among young groups, held in Washington, D. C., 83d Congress, 2d session, on July 12, 1954, I will ask you if it is not a fact that you were asked by Mr. Scherer this question:

If the bishop was correctly reported by the newspapers, did he tell the truth?

And you answered—

The CHAIRMAN. The question was, the question asked him was:

Did the bishop tell the truth as the newspapers quoted him directly?

Senator WELKER. That is right. You answered:

If he is correctly reported by the newspaper the bishop is a dishonest man.

Mr. MATUSOW. That is what I said before, sir.

Senator WELKER. Well, you didn't have anything to say about the first question, did you, as to whether or not the bishop told the truth?

Mr. MATUSOW. The record speaks for itself, sir.

Senator WELKER. Well, now, whatever the record speaks, I am interrogating you now as to whether or not you did so testify when that question was propounded to you.

Mr. MATUSOW. As I said, sir, I referred to the bishop as a dishonest man for violating a privileged conversation.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean to say now that the record shows that when the question that you replied to now, did the bishop tell the truth—

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, Senator Welker asked me what did I reply to. I haven't read that testimony. If I find something in that testimony which says that I said that Bishop Oxnam told a lie, then I apparently said it; but at this time I have no recollection of such statements.

Senator WELKER. I am merely asking you what counsel, Mr. Scherer, asked you.

Mr. MATUSOW. He wasn't counsel; I believe he was Congressman Scherer, Gordon Scherer.

Senator WELKER. The question was:

If the bishop was correctly reported by the newspapers did he tell the truth? and your answer:

If he was correctly reported by the newspapers the bishop is a dishonest man.

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right, sir; that is my answer.

Senator WELKER. That, out West and most generally, is accepted as calling the bishop a liar, isn't that a fact?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know how you accept it or other people accept it; I told you how I meant it. All I can tell you is my intent.

Senator WELKER. Now, I will rely upon your favorite statement; the record will speak for itself.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you know Angus Cameron as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that on May 7, 1953, Angus Cameron invoked the fifth amendment when asked about his Communist Party membership?

Mr. MATUSOW. It is very possible. I believe Mr. Cameron—

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was only did you know that.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know the date. I believe Mr. Cameron told me at one time he appeared before Senator Jenner in Boston and invoked the fifth amendment when asked many questions.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did he tell you about why he did that?

Mr. MATUSOW. He told me he was defending the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he tell you whether or not he was a Communist?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir. In fact, the exact quote, if you would like to know what he told me, sir, I will tell you exactly in quotes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How long will it take, Mr. Matusow?

Mr. MATUSOW. Less than 30 seconds.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead.

Mr. MATUSOW. He said he walked in; there was no chair, and he looked at Senator Jenner, and he said, "Senator Jenner, where is my chair," and then as soon as he started off, he said, "Senator Jenner,

you might not know the meaning of the first amendment, but I do," and that is what Mr. Cameron related in relation to that testimony, to me.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is all he said to you about it?

Mr. MATUSOW. And that he also invoked the fifth amendment, and in his opinion safeguarded for his own reasons, and I didn't inquire as to what they were.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, you remember considerable testimony that you have given here about what has been referred to as a memorandum given to you at the same time that you were given a transcript of your testimony in the case of the 13 Communists, the so-called Flynn case?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not the so-called, but the Flynn case; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would like to send you a photostat of a document and ask you if this is the memorandum in question. I believe that since it has been discussed in this hearing it should be in the record.

Mr. MATUSOW. It is the document in question, sir; but—let counsel see it—but I think it is incorrectly referred to as a memorandum, and I believe—

Mr. SOURWINE. If it is the document in question, and we put it in the record as such, the question of its designation is immaterial. The record will speak—

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. May this be admitted in the record, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Yes; it is admitted into the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 29" and appears below:)

#### EXHIBIT No. 29

##### TESTIMONY OF HARVEY MATUSOW

DIRECT EXAMINATION, JULY 22, 1952 (Tr. 6565)

Joined C. P., October 1947; remained a member until January 19, 1951 (Tr. 6565).

##### *First contact with FBI*

About February 1950 "I voluntarily called the FBI" made an appointment to see an agent, went down to see him "and volunteered to give him any information I had in relation to my activities in the Communist Party" (Tr. 6566).

##### *Reports to FBI*

Reported to the FBI "sometimes weekly, sometimes once every two weeks, and sometimes more than once a week (Tr. 6566). Reports were both oral and written (Tr. 6566).

##### *Money received from FBI*

Did not receive payments for these reports. Received some money for expense incurred in gathering material for the reports (Tr. 6566). Received such payments for approximately seven months—never more than \$70 in any one month (Tr. 6567).

##### *Socialism could not be obtained peacefully. Against all*

Institute of Marxist Studies: School set up as a comprehensive study of Marxism-Leninism for member of the C. P.—at the Jefferson School, early fall 1948 (Tr. 6608). At one course taught by Beatrice Siskind on the subject of American Exceptionalism (6609), B. Siskind said:

Tr. 6610: " \* \* \* that American exceptionalism was a theory started in the 1920's when the Communist Party was under the leadership of Lovestone. She stated that American exceptionalism said that the United States would not suffer economic crises in the event of world economic crises, that we were exempt or

we just couldn't have one here if labor worked with the bourgeoisie or the capitalists or the management, as the case may be. She pointed out and said that American exceptionalism was also carried forth under Earl Browder in 1945 and said that was the reason for his expulsion, and that you could not, she said, collaborate with the bourgeoisie or the capitalists, that labor could not. The only way to avoid economic crises is with the establishment of socialism, and she stated that socialism could not be obtained under a peaceful means, it could not be obtained by collaboration, that the capitalists or bourgeoisie would not give up without a struggle, and therefore the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Party, would have to take over by power and overthrow the bourgeoisie."

*Henry Winston—sabotage in case of war*

In December 1948, Matusow attended a meeting of the C. P. in Philadelphia at which Henry Winston, organizational secretary of the C. P. spoke (Tr. 6622-6624). Matusow returned from Philadelphia together with Winston—on trip back Winston said:

Tr. 6625-26: " \* \* \* that his article in the fourteenth convention issue of Political Affairs, which was September of 1948, should be read and studied more fully by the members of the Communist Party. He said that it was important for the young members of the Communist Party in New York, members of the Youth clubs, to get out of New York and to get out into the Midwest into basic industries, out in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Western Pennsylvania, and up-State New York near Buffalo. He said that it was important to go there so that the young Communists could form a nucleus of workers on the side of the Communist Party, to recruit and get young people into the Communist Party, so that in the event of any imperialistic war, as he put it, we could help the side of the Soviet Union, as he stated it, and slow down production, and in some places call strikes, and in general see that the war production, in the event of a war, would not carry forward to its fullest capacity."

*Arnold Johnson*

In December 1948 witness attended a meeting at the Hank Forbes Auditorium, C. P. headquarters, 35 E. 12th St., at which Arnold Johnson spoke (Tr. 6626-27). Johnson said:

Tr. 6627: "He said that it was important for the Communist Youth Movement to build a new Marxist-Leninist Youth Group that would or could leave the white-collar jobs and get out into basic industry in the tradition of the Young Communist League. He said that the New York organization, the Youth Organization of the Communist Party needed building. We had a trained cadre, and we had to train them in New York and get them out into the basic industries so that we could recruit young workers and get them on the side of the Communist Party. We had to get them into the trade unions in the midwest, in basic industries, and we had to recruit in there, and in the event of any war with the Soviet Union we would then have people on our side."

*Pettis Perry*

In December 1948 Perry spoke in a restaurant on University place (Tr. 6627). Tr. 6628-29: "Mr. Perry spoke about the question of building socialism. He said that the building of socialism went hand in hand with the setting up and establishing of a Negro nation in the black belt of the United States, and the freeing of the Negro people and the Negro liberation movement, that the South in the United States—there were some States such as Mississippi where the Negro people constituted a majority, and that a Negro nation would have to be set up, would be set up in the black belt. He referred to the book, Marxism and the National Question, and the basic principles for definition of what is a nation, and he stated that the Negro people in the United States constitute a nation, and that this nation could not be set up unless socialism were to come to power in the United States and that the bourgeoisie would not sit back and let it come to power peacefully, and therefore the working class led by the Communist Party would have to forcibly overthrow this bourgeoisie to set up the Negro nation while establishing socialism."

*Puerto Rico—Blake, Trachtenberg*

In Dec. 1948 at a Xmas Party in the Jefferson School, Trachtenberg introduced Matusow to the chairman of the Puerto Rican C. P. and said that Matusow led a subscription drive held by the Sunday Worker and would go to Puerto Rico as a guest of Puerto Rican C. P., expenses paid by New York County C. P. (Tr. 6629).

Before he took the trip he had a conversation with Blake—on approximately April 15, 1949, at 35 E. 12 St. (Tr. 6636).

Blake said:

Tr. 6637-38: “\* \* \* that I should familiarize myself with the Party, the Communist Party line on Puerto Rico. He pointed out: Mr. Blake said that the struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico was tied up directly with the struggle for socialism. He said that Puerto Rico was being used as a military base by the United States, and an independent Puerto Rico would help to destroy those bases and triple the Caribbean defense. He pointed out that the only time Puerto Rico would get its independence was when we had conducted an effective struggle for socialism and had overthrown the bourgeoisie there. He said he had been to Puerto Rico before and that if Puerto Rico were independent the struggle for socialism there would be accomplished a lot easier.”

*Trachtenberg—Vishinski—Law of Soviet State (G. E. 94A)*

In the fall of 1949, at the Worker's Book Shop where Matusow was employed (Tr. 6645), Trachtenberg said concerning Vishinski's Law of Soviet State:

Tr. 6646 “\* \* \* the book was selling for \$15 and was far beyond the reach of most of the rank and file Party members, and he stated that the book, at a lower price, would be very useful in the Party in that the concepts created here by Mr. Vishinski on a new form of socialist law were diametrically opposed to the English law, and that the Party should be familiar with this new concept of Socialist law, and that if the book were published at a lower price than \$15, it would be very useful in the Party apparatus and educational set-up.”

G. E. 94A offered and objection sustained (Tr. 6648-52). Following argument (at pp. 6648-52) in presence of Matusow. Matusow obligingly supplied the necessary foundation. He testified as follows:

Tr. 6653: “Q. Do you recall anything else that Mr. Trachtenberg said about this book, Mr. Matusow?

“A. Mr. Trachtenberg did say that the book contained the first comprehensive report of the Soviet concept of law and the Marxist-Leninist concept of law.

“He went on further to say that in talking about the book, the Law of the Soviet State, that the question of capitalism and socialism here, or the creating of a socialist society and eliminating class antagonisms, how that was to be accomplished through the establishment of socialism, how the diametrically opposed classes could be eliminated—were found in that book.”

(NOTE that the Court admitted G. E. 94A solely against Trachtenberg as evidence of his intent and so instructed the jury (Tr. 6669). Check if at conclusion of Government's case—court admitted it as against all.)

#### MATUSOW CROSS-EXAMINATION

##### *Reports to FBI*

Matusow was told to include in his reports to the FBI “what Communist Party meetings I attended, who was in attendance, and what they said (Tr. 6920). His instructions were to report “everything that I remembered I saw and heard” (Tr. 6921).

As to C. P. activities prior to Feb. 1950 (date he contacted FBI) he spent a year after his contact writing out a report concerning these activities (Tr. 6921). He used notes, including notes taken in course taught by B. Siskind (Tr. 6922) in preparing report. Doesn't recall if he reported on Bea Siskind's teaching (Tr. 6922-23). His best recollection is that the “substance matter of the class is not in that report (Tr. 6923).

Believes he reported to the FBI concerning the Winston incident in the complete report submitted after contact with FBI (Tr. 6939).

Motion made for production of reports concerning the two incidents (Tr. 6939) granted by the Court after its inspection of the report (Tr. 6960). The Court stated the following as his reason for granting motion:

Tr. 6960: “With respect to the matter that we had up at the close of the session last night, I have been supplied by the Government with the report made by the witness in question, and I have read it and compared it with the testimony, and have come to the conclusion that the accounts of the two incidents with respect to which the defense wished to use it is sufficiently at variance with the testimony so that the defense should be permitted to examine those parts of the report.”

The report mentions the Bea Siskind class but does not discuss content of teaching (Tr. 6993).



Concerning the Winston incident the report states the following:

Tr. 7007-08 (Exhibit read to jury): "In December 1949 the worker started its sub drive. I had not given much thought to it, and at the end of three weeks I found myself in the lead, 65 subs. Everybody in the Youth movement was happy about it for it had been a long time since the Youth walked away with the prize. I didn't know it when the drive started, but there was a trip to Puerto Rico in store for the winner. It was on a Sunday in December. A county-wide press party was held at the Hank Forbes Auditorium for all Party members who sold five or more. Ben Semonofsky, county press director, headed the meeting. He introduced me to Connie Bart of Philadelphia, and at her suggestion Ben and I agreed to go to Philadelphia the following Tuesday night. Henry Winston was the main speaker at that meeting. Others who I knew at the meeting"—

and the balance of it is illegible.

Then it picks up again in legible type "main body of the Philadelphia Party was there, but never having been active in Philadelphia I didn't know them. At the meeting Winston discussed the need for more Party people to leave their white collar jobs in the East, for the Party to get off its intellectual horse and go out into the basic industry as was done in the thirties during the organization of the CIO. This had been the line of the Party since the '48 Convention. The fruits of this line are shown in the formation of the National Negro Labor Council, October 27, 1951, in Cincinnati, Ohio. We left Philadelphia at about 12.00 p. m., Winston, Semonofsky and myself. The discussion on the train dealt with the Party's role in the Progressive Party and a continuation of the subject of Winston's talk in Philadelphia."

(NOTE the date in the report is 1949 and in testimony it is 1948—but witness testified that there was only one such occasion and the 48 date was correct (Tr. 7006).)

Motion for production of report re Johnson incident (Tr. 7013).

Motion for production of report re Perry speech and Puerto Rican incident (Tr. 7020).

Court granted the motion stating following:

Tr. 7073: "They were, first, as to Arnold Johnson's speech as told on page 6627 of the record. I found that referred to in the FBI record at pages 63 and 64, and I find it to be in the same class with the Siskind testimony, and I think that on that account, the defendants should be permitted to examine that and use it if they wish.

"The second was a speech by Pettis Perry referred to at page 6628 and I found nothing in the statement with respect to that.

"The third is with respect to the instructions prior to the trip to Puerto Rico on pages 6636, 6637 and 6638, and there I found references on page 54, 55 and 59."

Contents of Report re Johnson Incident:

Tr. 7088-89: The entire section of the report reads as follows: "The first talk of a Labor Youth League was during the Wallace campaign. It was decided at the Communist Party National Convention that a new Marxist-Leninist Youth Group should be formed. The Party was waiting for the election to end, and then start the ball rolling. The Friday night before Christmas a county leadership meeting was held at the Hank Forbes Auditorium. Speakers at the meeting were Arnold Johnson, Lou Diskin and Ernie Parent. We were setting up the foundation for a LYL, by setting up Party Youth Sections. There were about 150 Party youth present. Johnson spoke of the need to go out into the industrial centers of the country and get a hold on basic industry. Diskin spoke of the need of a Marxist-Leninist Youth Group, and how since the end of the YCL the Party was in need of a fighting youth organization.

"The meeting also took up the worker sub drive and how we could reach more youth with the paper as part of our organizing drive."

The Report concerning the Puerto Rican incident reads as follows:

Tr. 7112: "In preparation for my trip to Puerto Rico I was told to read up on the subject, and as far as the Party was concerned the place to go was the Frederick Vanderbilt Field Library on West 26th Street. The Party was right.

"They had a student strike in Puerto Rico shortly before my visit there. And it was decided that greetings should be taken from the leaders of the C. C. N. Y. strike.

"I went to Ted Bassett who at the time was New York County Educational Director, and a member of the State Puerto Rican Commission. Ben Davis was supposed to go on the trip, but due to the trial he didn't. Before we left

George Blake, New York County Chairman, briefed us on what to expect and who to see. I also went with Juan Emannuallie, who told us something about the history of the Party, and what the present line was.

"Before leaving New York I was told to contact the Party Youth leader (Eugene Cubues) as well as the Party leaders (Santo and Andreu) to make arrangements for the sending of a delegate to the World Youth Festival in Budapest, Hungary. The New York Party was prepared to pay for the trip and handle all details about getting the visa as well as all other paper work. (American Youth for a Free World did the work.) After a meeting with Andreu it was decided that Cubues would go."

On redirect witness testified that he was told to omit conversations in the report concerning his activities prior to the time he began working with FBI (Tr. 7161, 7163).

#### *New Mexico article*

Matusow helped prepare an article which was published under the name of Harvey Matt in New Mexico in 1950—Matusow did not submit it but helped prepare it (Tr. 7119). (DE 4xP for id, Nov. 30, 1950 issue of Santa Fe New Mexican page 4, section B (Tr. 7123)).

On redirect he testified that he did not get any money for the work he did on the article (tr. 7152).

#### ON RE CROSS

Matusow does not recall having any discussion or negotiation with a man named Will Harrison, the managing editor of the Santa Fe of New Mexico, or with the managing editor of the paper concerning the appearance of the article in the newspaper (Tr. 7170). His recollection is a little foggy (Tr. 7171). He recalls having a discussion concerning article with the Taos correspondent (Tr. 7170).

Denies receiving a check for \$12 from the Santa Fe New Mexican as compensation for article (Tr. 7172). Denies endorsing such a check (Tr. 7172). Denies cashing check (Tr. 7172).

Believes he met Will Harrison on one or more occasions (Tr. 7172).

Mr. MATUSOW. This is, by the way, a true copy of the copy I received, a photostat of that true copy, but not a photostat of the actual copy I received.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, your book says:

El Paso was very profitable for me. I was paid \$9 a day normal witness per diem, plus \$25 a day expert witness fee, plus my income as a comic in Juarez.

Do you remember that?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. For how many days were you paid that \$25 a day expert witness fee?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't know; I think 7 days, maybe 8.

Mr. SOURWINE. And for how many days were you in El Paso?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall now. It was about 10 days, I think.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you got \$9 a day for all of that time, on top of the \$25?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your income as a comic in Juarez?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't recall offhand now, maybe a couple of hundred dollars, maybe a little less.

Mr. SOURWINE. For the whole 10 days?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't work every night.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, but over the whole 10 days it was a couple of hundred dollars?

Mr. MATUSOW. I would have to figure it out, check it.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would be an average of \$20 a day?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes. For the 10 days I was there I might have made four or five hundred dollars.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it closer to \$200 or \$500?

Mr. MATUSOW. I would have to check it, sir. We will say \$450 for argument's sake; it will be close enough.

Mr. SOURWINE. I would be willing to take \$500. Would you say it was over \$500?

Mr. MATUSOW. It was not over \$500.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that your total income or total income—

Mr. MATUSOW. That was nightclub income, witness fee, \$30 a day, plus about \$20 a day.

Mr. SOURWINE. The whole thing for 10 days or 2 weeks was not over \$500?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't think it was over \$500.

Mr. SOURWINE. Haven't you said in your book that your hotel bill was over \$200?

Mr. MATUSOW. Quite possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you make much profit out of that trip?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was living high off the hog again; I considered that profit.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you were living high off the hog now, not on what you made on that trip but on your own money, were you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, look, sir, if I make \$400 or \$500 or \$350 in 10 days I consider that a pretty good wage. How much I spend is another story, but what was my income.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you ever steal any money?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, here we go again; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. From whom did you steal it?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, "stole" from my ex-wife. Let that be in quotes.

Mr. SOURWINE. At a time when she was your ex-wife?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; at the time she was my wife.

Mr. SOURWINE. Whose quotes are you putting around the word "steal"?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am putting my quotes around them as they were intended in a letter which I presume you are going to put in evidence.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did write a letter about it?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. To whom did you write the letter?

Mr. MATUSOW. An attorney here in Washington, Joseph A. Rafferty.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the amount involved?

Mr. MATUSOW. Seventeen hundred and sixty dollars, I think; maybe I am off by \$10.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was your financial condition when you began to negotiate with Cameron and Kahn concerning your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't know now; it was about even.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were about flat broke, weren't you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Close to it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You owed considerable money, did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the end of 1953 you owed money to the Esso Corp., did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How much?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, about \$250. \$300.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you paid it yet?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the end of 1953 you owed money to the Tidewater Oil Co.

Mr. MATUSOW. Forty-five dollars; I haven't paid that either.

Mr. SOURWINE. At the end of 1953 did you owe money to any restaurants?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, that is a running bill; yes, I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is a running bill?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I think a restaurant—

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. I think the record ought to be straight on one thing here; that at the end of 1953, and from the time starting in 1953, until the time I met with Cameron and Kahn, my debts were decreased by better than 50 percent, and that most of the money I earned in 1953 went into paying off my debts, and I didn't contact Cameron and Kahn in relation to making money, which was the inference, I believe, counsel was trying to draw from this, and that certain debts I have now in relation to the ones counsel has mentioned, are debts which are a matter of question whether my ex-wife was responsible for certain debts, or whether I was, and whether or not those debts are going to be paid is going to be decided later in the courts, and I don't think it is fair to assume or to leave the impression that those debts were debts which I just ran up irresponsibly and didn't pay because I didn't have any conscience about paying.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I refresh the witness' memory with respect to the full and general release that he executed in the State of New Mexico, wherein for the consideration of \$10 all of his claims, even including the claim of \$20,000 that he had against his ex-wife, his then present wife, for alimony and all other claims of every kind and nature—

Mr. MATUSOW. I am familiar with that.

Senator WELKER. (continuing). Were settled.

Mr. MATUSOW. I am very familiar with it.

Senator WELKER. And now you do not think for a moment that that release was fraudulent in any way?

Mr. MATUSOW. Look, sir—

Senator WELKER. And you are hiding behind the fact—

Mr. MATUSOW. I presume you are an excellent divorce attorney and you have probably got many people, men and women, into a position similar to me, and that is how I got into mine because a shrewd attorney which I was not responsible for, and I didn't intend to take responsibility for but that is between me and the Esso and Tidewater Corp., and if I have to pay them I will pay them, but I don't think the committee is leaving the impression. I mean, look, I am leaving my own impression; I don't admit I am an honorable man. I have been—well, I am not going to use the term—but for a good part of my life, and I know it, and I am trying to correct it, sir.

Senator WELKER. So that you are—

Mr. MATUSOW. To leave a wrong impression.

Senator WELKER. To get them paid—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, please.

Senator WELKER. I am through with the speech business, and I do not want to leave the impression that I think you are an honorable man either, but I am merely asking you this question: In view of the general release that was introduced in evidence yesterday, and you admitted it, now in answer to counsel's question, you stated there was a question as to whether or not your wife owed the obligation or you did.

Mr. MATUSOW. This was a question in my mind and, look, I am going to take care of my obligations when and if I am forced to or when and if my conscience says I am going to in relation to certain things. I am not going to go into all of them, sir.

Senator WELKER. Well, your conscience—remember the interrogation I gave you yesterday about your Biblical quotations, and so forth?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; there are many.

Senator WELKER. I am quite sure you will do exactly as you quoted in your book.

Mr. MATUSOW. I am familiar with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, what debts did you pay off during 1953 and 1954?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will have to check into that, but I paid off a number of them. I paid off the debt on a car that I had.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated here—

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I paid off a debt on a car; that was one particular.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated here that you paid off at least half of your total indebtedness. Now, that was as of what time? Did you, during 1954, pay off half of your total indebtedness at the end of 1953?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; by the month of September 1954 that money had been paid.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean that by the end of September 1954, you had paid off half of your total indebtedness as of the time of January 1, 1954?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you give this committee a complete list of the debts that you paid off during that 9-month period?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will endeavor to furnish that to the committee after I have taken care of my own income tax and finished using the material needed for tax purposes; I will send it to the committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, you are being a little flippant.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, I don't think I am, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I ask the Chair to direct that that information be furnished without regard to any other obligations that Mr. Matusow may have. You are perfectly able to copy the information.

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, you want a copy of it, pardon me; O.K., that is a different story, sir. Let's be specific.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will the Chair order the information to be furnished?

The CHAIRMAN. He said he would furnish it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you leave Dayton, Ohio, in May of 1952, owing any money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe—I believe I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you owe any money to a Mr. Edmiston?

Mr. MATUSOW. That was a matter of dispute. I believe I did, and I believe it was paid within 30 days.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you owe any back rent to your landlady when you left Dayton?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. To return to the matter of this restaurant, what was the restaurant to which you owed money?

Mr. MATUSOW. Still do, I guess; Toots Shor's.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the restaurant?

Mr. MATUSOW. Toots Shor; go in there a lot, pay a lot of bills there, too.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that for checks you had signed?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I still do sign my tabs there when I go in there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a friend named Irv, nicknamed Irv, I-r-v?

Mr. MATUSOW. Maybe 10 or 15 people named that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have 10 or 15 friends whose nickname is Irv?

Mr. MATUSOW. Might have a hundred; that is a very common name in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a friend named Irv to whom you owe any money?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you have a friend named Irv to whom you owed money in January of 1952?

Mr. MATUSOW. That question came up in court last week and I don't recall who that was, but I seem to recall I don't owe that money to anybody now; I don't have a record of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified that you owed him \$320.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe it was in a diary notation of mine, sir, so it must have been true.

Mr. SOURWINE. And you don't remember who it was?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; the slightest idea.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you are testifying that you paid him?

Mr. MATUSOW. I testified that I have no record of owing him, owing anybody by that name now, any money, so therefore, I must have paid it or I would have a record of it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you, Mr. Matusow, paid for your activity, for your campaign activity, in the State of Washington?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who paid you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall the gentleman's name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you when you were paid?

Mr. MATUSOW. In the office of the campaign headquarters of Senator Harry Cain.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it someone connected with that campaign headquarters who paid you?

Mr. MATUSOW. To my knowledge he was connected with it; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it Mr. Fred Hansen?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't remember his name. He lived in Tacoma, practiced law there.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Fred Hansen?

Mr. MATUSOW. I seem to recall having met the man.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he live in Tacoma?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you state that you were paid by a member of Senator Cain's office staff who lived in Tacoma and practiced law there?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't say he was a member of his office staff, but somebody connected with the campaign, which is different.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you state that you were paid by a person who was connected with Senator Cain's campaign and that you were paid at his campaign headquarters, and that the person who paid you lived in Tacoma and practiced law there?

Mr. MATUSOW. To my knowledge, yes, sir; it might have been a real-estate office though, or law and real estate.

Mr. SOURWINE. How much were you paid then and there?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe it was \$600 or thereabouts, close on to it, maybe \$700.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated in your book *False Witness*—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. I want to understand. You say that you were paid, you think, \$600?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute now—by a man connected with Senator Harry Cain's campaign headquarters who practiced law in Tacoma?

Mr. MATUSOW. Or had a real estate office there.

The CHAIRMAN. Or had a real-estate office in Tacoma?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

The payment was made, as you allege, in Senator Cain's campaign headquarters?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it cash or check?

Mr. MATUSOW. Cash. I signed a receipt for it, though.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did that receipt show the amount?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe it did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you stated in your book that you were paid \$500 on that occasion; did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir. I wanted to be conservative in my estimate because I couldn't find the exact figure. I believed it was 6 or 7. I know I stated 5, so as to not go overboard and make it look worse if I found out it was 5.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have testified or you had told Mr. Kahn during your tape-recorded conversation with him that the amount involved was \$600; had you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know what I said in the tape-recorded conversation. It was just conversation. I wasn't checking my files to be accurate at that time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did you subsequently check your files to be accurate?

Mr. MATUSOW. I checked and couldn't find the exact amount, sir, so that is why I put down \$500 in the book; I knew it must have been a few hundred dollars more, but I wanted to play it safe.

Mr. SOURWINE. And yet you testified here that everything in the book was the truth?

Mr. MATUSOW. To the best of my knowledge; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you testifying now that you are affirming that you were paid at least \$500 on that occasion at Senator Cain's headquarters?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is at least \$500.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask, was it \$500 or \$600?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said my recollection is it was at least \$500, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At least \$500?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. You said a minute ago that your recollection was at least \$600. Now, which is true?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir. The question that counsel asked me was, "Will you testify that it was at least \$500?" Maybe I didn't hear the question right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Could it have been as little as \$400?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; not to my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you testify positively that it was \$400 or more?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am not going to make a positive statement about a recollection which is not too coherent at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. You will not testify positively that it was more than \$300, will you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I won't testify anything, to anything positively about it, because I have no definite piece of paper in my hand saying this is it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then why did you put that in your book and why have you sworn here that what was in your book was true?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I told you, I recall it was over \$500. You want a definite yes or no answer; I am not going to give you one, sir, and you know why.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have already sworn, Mr. Matusow, that the statements in your book are true, and your book contains the statement that it was \$500.

Mr. MATUSOW. Then why are you bringing it up now? If you have got a case against me, bring it; don't start rubbing salt in the wound, if you think you have a wound to rub salt into.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I am not rubbing salt in your wound.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't have any wound; you might think you are doing so.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am still trying earnestly—

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask that the witness be admonished that he is on the witness stand under oath, and he should conduct himself as a witness and not be argumentative with counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I think he had a right to argue.

Proceed.

Mr. MATUSOW. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am only attempting, Mr. Matusow, to carry out the duty I am charged with here to try to make a record of what you now say is the truth.

Mr. MATUSOW. I appreciate that, sir, and I appreciate that I have a duty to tell the truth here to this committee and to the American people.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you have on many prior occasions changed testimony previously given, I am asking you now whether it is now



your testimony that what you said in the book about receiving \$500 in Senator Cain's campaign headquarters was true.

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection today is that it was more than \$500.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, don't you know that it was only \$150?

Mr. MATUSOW. I know it was more than \$150.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you know that the receipt you signed shows it was only \$150?

Mr. MATUSOW. If that is the case it is a fraudulent receipt.

Mr. SOURWINE. We now have the record clear on one point. You are willing to swear it was more than \$150; is that correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; you do have the record clear on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. But you are not willing to swear it was \$500, as you said in your book; is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. My plane fare from Salt Lake City to Seattle and back was more than \$150, and that was taken care of, plus expense money.

Mr. SOURWINE. What does that have to do with the amount of money you were paid in Senator Cain's campaign office?

Mr. MATUSOW. That was part of the money I was paid, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, then, we are back again—

Mr. MATUSOW. Therefore, we established it is more than \$150, and therefore, my recollection is that it was more than \$500. If you have the receipt, sir, produce it, and we can see who is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. What amount, Mr. Matusow, did you report on your income tax as having received on that occasion?

Mr. MATUSOW. I recorded and reported the correct amount of money I earned in the year 1952. I don't recall now if I broke it down as to how I received every dollar, that is, because as an independent contractor, I believe my accountant advised me at the time, that I did not have to break down every dollar I earned as to where I earned it, but just the total amount, and that might be how I filed it. But I think maybe I have a record the other way, filing it as to how much I received from Senator Cain's office, and also my expense money was not—airline ticket money—I don't believe was reported.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is another one of those answers that confuses the record but I don't think it is important enough to go further.

Mr. MATUSOW. Thank you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you testified, Mr. Matusow, that you called and apologized to the following persons for wrongful attacks you had made upon them—

Mr. MATUSOW. Called or verbally apologized to, was my answer in the court.

Mr. SOURWINE. I beg your pardon? What did you say?

The CHAIRMAN. Repeat that, please.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe that when I referred to apologies I had made to certain people I referred to also either called or personally saw.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very well.

Have you testified you called upon or called on the telephone and apologized to the following persons for wrongful attacks you had made upon them: Drew Pearson, Marquis Childs, Elmer Davis, James

Wechsler, Senator Jackson, Senator Mansfield, Senator Murray, Senator Humphrey, and Senator Lehman?

Mr. MATUSOW. Senator Lehman's administrative assistant, I believe, not Senator Lehman himself.

Mr. SOURWINE. And the other names are correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. I spoke to Senator Murray; Senator Mansfield's administrative assistant, not Senator Mansfield. I spoke to Senator Jackson, Senator Humphrey, Drew Pearson, Marquis Childs. James Wechsler, they are accurate, either on the phone or being——

Mr. SOURWINE. Why did you pick those nine persons to apologize to?

Mr. MATUSOW. Those are the only ones I could recall apologizing to; the list is much longer.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mean you did apologize to others?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; but those are all I can recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you attempted to apologize to everyone concerning whom you have lied?

Mr. MATUSOW. Anybody whom I have able to locate; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you have about 240 more people now that you can apologize to.

Mr. MATUSOW. You have got 240 on that list? Thank you, sir; I didn't know there were that many. The press has reported 180 up to now.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you testified that you had falsely identified these nine persons as Communists or pro-Communists?

Mr. MATUSOW. Communists, pro-Communists, or serving the Communist causes; I might have called them innocent dupes, something like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you contacted these nine persons to apologize to them, did you contact them solely for that purpose?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe when I contacted Senator Jackson it was by telephone, and I said, "I am sorry, I apologize; what more can I do at this time," or something like that.

Mr. SOURWINE. That does not answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, in some cases the apology was there solely for the case of apology. There might have been other aspects to the conversation, but it nevertheless was an apology, and it would have been regardless of the other part of the conversation.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you ask every one of those people for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Which ones didn't you ask for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will go through the list again and I will give it to you.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Elmer Davis for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't ask him for money; I asked him if he knew of a publisher I might see.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Drew Pearson for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; I asked him to send some money back or as a loan.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you ask him for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I asked him also if he knew of a publisher, but I didn't ask him for money.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Marquis Childs for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. Again I asked him if he knew of a publisher.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question. The question was did you ask him for money. What is your answer?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I am trying to let counsel know when I wanted somebody to help me find a publisher I would consider that asking for money.

Mr. SOURWINE. So would I.

Mr. MATUSOW. And that is why I am stating it; I think it should be clarified, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask James Wechsler for money?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes; I offered to sell him the story.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Senator Jackson for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. His administrative assistant?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't speak to his administrative assistant.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anyone in his office?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Senator Mansfield for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. Never talked to Senator Mansfield.

Mr. SOURWINE. His administrative assistant?

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't ask him for money; I think I asked him if he knew a publisher or in that sense——

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, you said you consider that asking for——

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, in that sense I think it should be clarified as to what the purpose of the request was.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were trying to get money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was trying to get a subsidy to write a book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Senator Murray for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Anyone in his office?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't believe I asked anyone in his office for money. I believe I talked to somebody in his office on one occasion about trying to get a publisher, but I didn't think anything would happen through his office.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Senator Humphrey for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I talked about a publisher again.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask Senator Lehman or anyone in his office for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe I talked about a publisher.

(Senator Jenner left the hearing room.)

Mr. SOURWINE. You have testified that you sought secret loans of \$1,500 from a number of persons?

Mr. MATUSOW. That isn't my language.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that substantially correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, put it in your language, then.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir. I spoke to a number of people about trying to get a subsidy to write this book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Oh, no——

Mr. MATUSOW. Let me finish the answer. I sound familiar—I will sound like a Senator here when we finish—I am sorry.

Senator WELKER. What was that?

The CHAIRMAN. Come on, now. Let us not have anything theatrical about it.

Mr. MATUSOW. I can't help it, sir; I try to——

The CHAIRMAN. Make your answer responsive to the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. I contacted a number of people about trying to get subsistence to write this book, and in the process of doing so I felt that maybe whoever did help me, if somebody did, would be intimidated by the press or by certain pressures because of the nature of my book; and, therefore, suggested to these people that I would not—I have told—I said I have told a number of people that I would like to receive this money anonymously so that I don't know specifically who it was and can never testify to that if I am called before a committee.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, Mr. Matusow, with regard to Bishop Oxnam, you testified that you did suggest the possibility that someone would lend you \$1,500 and would do it anonymously, so that you would not know who it was, didn't you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Right.

Mr. SOURWINE. That would have been a secret, then, would it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. It would have been a secret loan, then, would it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well—

Mr. SOURWINE. Wouldn't it?

Mr. MATUSOW. In your terminology, in my substance, yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Now, you testified that you made similar propositions to others, did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, I want to know from what others did you seek secret loans.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have no recollection of who they are, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get any money from anyone under that kind of a proposition?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get any money from an anonymous donor or lender?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not that I recall, sir. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get any money from Alfred Kohlberg?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, he once offered me some money to sue the Alsop brothers, but I never received it; I never asked for it.

Mr. SOURWINE. We will come to that in a moment.

Did you ask Mr. Kohlberg for \$1,500 or ask him to help you arrange a secret loan of \$1,500?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have heard tell that he has told that story around but it is not true.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I didn't ask Mr. Kohlberg for that money.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you make to Mr. Kohlberg substantially the same proposition that you made to Bishop Oxnam about an anonymous phone call with regard to a lender of \$1,500?

Mr. MATUSOW. God, no; I didn't do any such thing. Mr. Kohlberg wouldn't have—sorry.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Louis Waldman?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, I do.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you talk to him about a loan or gift of \$1,500?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think I might have talked to him about a loan; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I might have; I don't recall so, but it is possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that in the connotation of the secret loan such as you have discussed?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall if it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell Louis Waldman that if he or someone else would give you \$1,500 you would not write your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that a categorical answer?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not state that to Mr. Waldman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you answering with regard to the substance or the exact words of my question?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not state to Mr. Waldman that if I received any money I would not write my book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in substance, state that to him?

Mr. MATUSOW. In substance or any other way I did not state that to him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you solicit funds from anyone in connection with the preparation of your book; I mean directly solicit funds?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; I believe I borrowed a few dollars at one time from a friend.

Mr. SOURWINE. From whom did you directly solicit funds in connection with the preparation of your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. My publishers.

Mr. SOURWINE. From anyone else?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not that I recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you solicit \$500 from Jimmy Sullivan in Senator Mansfield's office?

Mr. MATUSOW. Gosh, no; as I said, I was looking for an advance.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't—I didn't solicit \$500 from Mr. Sullivan. Mr. Sullivan told me that the Farmers Union was interested in purchasing an article I had to write or the chapter of my book dealing with the Montana campaign, and he felt that the Farmers Union would purchase that, and that in itself would help subsidize me, in the writing of my book. In that sense I solicited the money from him.

Mr. SOURWINE. How had the subject come up?

Mr. MATUSOW. In the process of my talking to Mr. Sullivan about the apology I was going to make or did make.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you talk to Mr. Sullivan about the fact that you needed money for this book?

Mr. MATUSOW. I talked to a lot of people, Mr. Sullivan included; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then you did solicit funds from Mr. Sullivan, didn't you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not solicit from him. I believe I talked to Mr. Sullivan about him being an intermediary with the Farmers Union. Get the facts straight.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who brought up first the subject of the Farmers Union in your conversation with Mr. Sullivan?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have a telephone conversation with Marquis Childs?

Mr. MATUSOW. Might have; I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Mr. MATUSOW. Spring of 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was he?

Mr. MATUSOW. Washington.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you telephone him about?

Mr. MATUSOW. Told him I would like to meet him and apologize to him for having called him a couple of names.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where were you in Washington?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was, I believe, in this office building.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where was Mr. Childs when you reached him by telephone?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe he was at home.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask him to come to the Senate Office Building to meet you?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you ask him to come?

Mr. MATUSOW. He asked me to come and meet him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you meet him at his office?

Mr. MATUSOW. I met him in the lobby at his office across the street from the Mayflower Hotel.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you telephone to him and ask him to come out and meet you in a hotel room?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not that I recall; it might have been possible, you know, when I called him, and we made an appointment, we did get together, you know. I might have said, "Well, can you come up here," and he may have said, "No," and I said, "O. K., then I will come down here"; right simple.

Mr. SOURWINE. Up here, would you have been in a hotel room? You weren't at a hotel room at the time.

Mr. MATUSOW. I might have been staying at a hotel here.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember where you were staying?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not offhand.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you on that occasion meet with Mr. Marquis Childs?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a result of your telephone appointment?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; we did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Where did you meet with him?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe it was a People's Drug Store down on 17th Street.

Mr. SOURWINE. Wasn't that after you had asked him to meet you in a hotel room and he had declined to do so?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe, sir, it is very possible that I said, "Can you meet me at my hotel room," and he said, "No; I am busy. Will you meet me at my office?" It is possible: I don't say it didn't happen.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you met him at the People's Drug Store on that occasion did you then and there ask him for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. In the sense of helping me locate a publisher for my book; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he say he would?

Mr. MATUSOW. He didn't commit himself one way or another.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he give you any money?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; bought me a coke.

Mr. SOURWINE. He bought you a coke?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you have testified you had coffee with Mr. Elmer Davis at the Willard Hotel: have you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was that?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I think it was October 1953.

Mr. SOURWINE. By appointment?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you then and there ask him for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I wouldn't say I asked him for money. I asked him to suggest a publisher I might see.

Mr. SOURWINE. Haven't you said you considered that as asking for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. This was—well, yes, sir; we will go back—you are correct; I am wrong.

Mr. SOURWINE. You had coffee with Elmer Davis, but you had chocolate malt with Marquis Childs, and did you pay for the drinks on either occasion?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't think I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever try to borrow money from a man named Hayes from the Hayes Registry, 145 West 56th Street, New York?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; Mr. Hayes claims so, but he is wrong.

Mr. SOURWINE. That is your positive testimony?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is my positive testimony.

Mr. SOURWINE. You never tried to borrow money from him.

Did you ever try to get money from him or solicit money from him or try to get him to get you a publisher?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall any conversations I had with Mr. Hayes.

Mr. SOURWINE. If you do not recall what conversation you had with Mr. Hayes—

Mr. MATUSOW. I know I didn't ask him to lend me money; that much I know. I am an actor and registered with his registry, and was up there every day talking to him about something.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever try to borrow money from a man named Morton Pooner from the Prager Publishing Co.?

Mr. MATUSOW. I tried to get an advance on publishing a book; I wouldn't say borrowing money from him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever try to borrow money from him?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever try to borrow money from Richard A. Brown of the Committee for an Effective Congress?

Mr. MATUSOW. Tried to get an advance for a book in that sense; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, now, Mr. Matusow, Richard A. Brown of the Committee for an Effective Congress is not a publisher, is he?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, he had contacts with some publishers, and I know I knew it then.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were trying to get an advance from him to publish—

Mr. MATUSOW. I was trying to get him to put me in contact with a publisher.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, as a matter of fact, what you asked him for was money to subsidize the writing of your book, was it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, it is six of one and half a dozen of the other, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. No, it is not. You have attempted yourself to make a distinction, Mr. Matusow, between asking for a publisher and asking for money to subsidize you in writing a book.

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, you have corrected me and I have accepted your correction.

Mr. SOURWINE. You are now stating there is no difference in your mind between asking someone to get you a publisher and getting money to help subsidize the writing of the book?

Mr. MATUSOW. For your purposes there is no difference; you are splitting hairs.

Mr. SOURWINE. For your purposes, was there any difference?

Mr. MATUSOW. At that time?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. The esthetic differences, the values involved there, it would take too long to go into.

Mr. SOURWINE. You were trying—

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes; there was a difference.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was the difference?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, it will take a little bit of a philosophical dissertation, and I don't want to take the committee's time up with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, in the case of Richard Brown, which were you trying to do, get an advance on the publication of the book or get a subsidization of the writing?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is not too clear on what it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified very promptly when I asked you the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said the recollection is not an articulate one.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know Mr. Richard A. Brown?

Mr. MATUSOW. I had met him—no, wait a minute, hold on. All of a sudden it dawns on me it was not Mr. Brown whom I talked to. It was another gentleman of a Committee for an Effective Congress.

Mr. SOURWINE. To whom did you talk?

Mr. MATUSOW. I forget his name. If you have it there you can refresh my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, you said to your recollection it was another gentleman. I want to know who it was.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know who it was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you now stating you did not talk to Mr. Richard A. Brown to get money for your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was thinking of a Committee for an Effective Congress; all of a sudden it dawns on me I don't know a Mr. Richard A. Brown.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let us stick to your testimony, whether you tried to borrow money, borrow any money from Richard A. Brown or tried to get money from Richard A. Brown for subsidizing your book.



Mr. MATUSOW. Now, I don't recall that; I didn't talk to him, but there was another gentleman I talked to.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him?

Mr. MATUSOW. The other gentleman?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. I never met, but I don't know the other gentleman.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him before you talked to him about getting money for your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, someone suggested I call him up and make an appointment.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was that?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you come to a Committee for an Effective Congress for your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think they were out to destroy McCarthyism, and that was my purpose, so we had something in common.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you get any money there?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive money, directly or indirectly, from any newspaper columnist other than Mr. Drew Pearson?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not to my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive any money, directly or indirectly, from any radio or television broadcaster or commentator other than Mr. Drew Pearson?

Mr. MATUSOW. Outside of normal work as a performer or actor on television; no, sir; not to my recollection.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive any money, directly or indirectly, from an employee of a newspaper or of a columnist or of a radio broadcaster or commentator other than Mr. Drew Pearson?

Mr. MATUSOW. Gadzooks, I know a lot of people in the radio and TV industry, and I might have indirectly or directly received some money, but not for the purpose of my book, to my recollection, if that is your question.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive any money from Mr. David Kerr?

Mr. MATUSOW. Who?

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. David Kerr.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know who he is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive any money from Mr. David Karr?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know the name.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you gave Drew Pearson something for his column in January, did you subsequently give—

Mr. MATUSOW. January 1953.

Mr. SOURWINE (continuing). Give him something else?

Mr. MATUSOW. January 1953.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was the only January in which you gave him anything; was it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I just thought the record should be clear.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you gave Mr. Drew Pearson for his column in January 1953, did you give him anything else?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I appeared on his TV show in 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you give him some notes that were used on his television show in May of 1953?

Mr. MATUSOW. Those are the ones I gave him in January.

Mr. SOURWINE. Those are the same ones you gave him in January?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. For which you received \$250?

Mr. MATUSOW. As a loan.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever have an arrangement with Mr. Jack Anderson to furnish him with information for Drew Pearson?

Mr. MATUSOW. No arrangement. Jack Anderson is a friend of mine, and I said "If I ever run into any news items that I think you can use I will give it to you," and it wasn't on the basis of cash and carry, either.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you furnish him with any news items?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't recall if I did or didn't. In conversation he might have picked something up from me, but I don't know if it was ever used.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever get any money from Jack Anderson?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I think I once borrowed \$5 from him—paid him back the next day.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that all?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is all I can recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, Mr. Anderson is not a friend of yours, as you attempt to imply, is he?

Mr. MATUSOW. I had dinner with him the other night, so I presume he is a friend. He did not act unfriendly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Since you have been down here?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. For this hearing?

Mr. MATUSOW. Last week. I believe last Monday night.

Mr. SOURWINE. You testified, did you not, that you were in Washington in May of 1953, contacting certain people down here in an attempt to sell the book or get it published?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you contact for that purpose?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall, other than the names that have already come into the hearing. I do not recall any other.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated that you discussed the book and a sample chapter dealing with Senator McCarthy, with a Mr. David Irons?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, you have pointed out something which I was greatly shocked by—greatly hurt by it, because I have a great deal of admiration for Mr. Irons. I would rather you don't discuss it. I did not know—

Mr. SOURWINE. You have stated that you discussed the book and a sample chapter with Mr. Irons, have you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. That sample chapter did not say anything about lying on the witness stand?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I never left the impression that I told Mr. Irons that lie.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever offer your book to Simon & Schuster?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall the date—last year.

Mr. SOURWINE. What did you ask for at that time?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe \$1,500 advance.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you talk with?

Mr. MATUSOW. Mr. Barnes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Joe Barnes?

Mr. MATUSOW. Joseph Barnes; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you at that time state that you had documentation?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. A trunkful?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I might have said a filing cabinet full.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did they ask to let a lawyer look at the documents?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said a lawyer will have to go to my home or the place the documents are at. They said, "No; the lawyer is not going to go up there; you have to bring it down here," so we didn't do anything.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever offer your book to the New York Post?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who did you see there?

Mr. MATUSOW. Mr. Wechsler.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you talk with Mr. William Dufty?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was your proposal rejected?

Mr. MATUSOW. At the time, it was; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How much did you ask for your book at that time?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did your book at that time say anything about lying on the witness stand?

Mr. MATUSOW. The outline, so far as I am concerned, had it in there, but I didn't put it down in black and white because of many reasons.

Mr. SOURWINE. It was the same chapter about McCarthy that you had at that time and were peddling around, were you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. And still is in the book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever take the manuscript of your book to Mr. Paul Sand, executive editor of the New York Post?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe he was. No, I don't think—well, I know he saw the manuscript—I was told he did. We discussed the book prior to the manuscript being written.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you take the manuscript of the book to Harper's?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. To Nester?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Dan Buckley?

Mr. MATUSOW. I do, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who is he?

Mr. MATUSOW. Dan Buckley is a former investigator for the committee that was investigating Senator McCarthy's charges in Wheeling, W. Va., who resigned that committee and denounced that committee, and then, through that, forced Senator McCarthy, according to Mr. Buckley, to appoint him as assistant counsel to the McCarthy Committee. And Mr. Buckley has since accused me of trying to blackmail.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever threaten Mr. Buckley?

Mr. MATUSOW. He is not worth threatening.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. Answer it.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I never did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever ask him for money?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not to my recollection, but the reverse is true.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever tell him you were desperately in need of money and would get it by hook or by crook?

Mr. MATUSOW. I do not believe I ever said that to Mr. Buckley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell Mr. Buckley you had written a book in which his name was mentioned?

Mr. MATUSOW. Very possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him Senator McCarthy's name also was mentioned?

Mr. MATUSOW. It is very possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him this book was derogatory to both him and Senator McCarthy?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't think Mr. Buckley is worth too much space in the book. I think I might have said it was derogatory—not derogatory, but I think I might have said, told some of the truth about the activities of the McCarthy forces in this country.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him you had destroyed the manuscript of this book?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said I had destroyed a vindictive, lying type of manuscript that I had written; was now writing an objective book.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you, in fact, destroyed the manuscript of this book?

Mr. MATUSOW. Of a book; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him you had been offered \$20,000 for that manuscript?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall what I told him. It is very possible I said almost anything then to Mr. Buckley about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it true that you had been offered \$20,000 for that manuscript?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; but the record should be straight about Mr. Buckley being a naive individual whom people appease a lot and whose leg is pulled quite frequently, and I think you know that, sir, if you know Mr. Buckley, and in saying things like this to Mr. Buckley jokingly—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute; wait a minute. You have answered the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you talk with Mr. Buckley at the Carroll Arms Hotel an afternoon in April 1954?

Mr. MATUSOW. Very possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, did you or did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. It could have been April; it could have been March; it could have been May, or it could have been in 1953—talked to Mr. Buckley on a number of occasions.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you talk with him on an occasion in the Carroll Arms Hotel when you told him that you wanted to talk with him privately?

Mr. MATUSOW. I doubt it.

Mr. SOURWINE. There were witnesses to this occasion, Mr. Matusow.

Mr. MATUSOW. Very possible that they can be witnesses to some statement that people now think I made.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask him for his telephone number?

Mr. MATUSOW. Dan Buckley was with somebody. Yes, I believe I said, "Dan, what is your phone number in New York? We will get together when you get up there and chat."

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you call him on the telephone a night or so later?

Mr. MATUSOW. Did I?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. Might have; might not have. I don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. You do not recall?

Mr. MATUSOW. I might have called him shortly thereafter to tell him I was working in a night club down here in Washington, why did not he come by and catch the act. In fact, I recall having told him about that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in a telephone conversation remind him of your previous conversation with him about the book you had written?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ask him what it would be worth to him to have his name eliminated from your book?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him you needed a thousand dollars?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him that for that amount you would eliminate his name from the book?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is ridiculous, sir; I never said such a thing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you later offer to him to eliminate his name from the book for \$500?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he refuse that, and did not you thereafter tell him that you would accept the loan of a thousand dollars.

Mr. MATUSOW. I have never attempted to blackmail Mr. Buckley or anybody else.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir, I never made such a statement to Mr. Buckley.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you on the occasion of that telephone conversation with Mr. Buckley tell him that you had made contact with the officials of the Communist Party, and that you had been assured that the Communist Party would guarantee to take care of you financially if you would do certain things the Party wanted?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am accused of being a liar—no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him that guaranty was to materialize shortly?

Mr. MATUSOW. What? What did you say? I did not hear that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you tell him that this guaranty from the Communist Party was going to materialize shortly?

Mr. MATUSOW. Definitely no, with a capital "N" and underlined.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did Mr. Buckley ask you if you meant that if you got money from him you would then not cooperate with the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir. No such statements were made.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, Mr. Matusow, ever state that you had lived in Greenwich Village with two other persons, one of whom was a sexual deviate?

Mr. MATUSOW. What?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever state that you had lived in Greenwich Village with two other persons, one of whom was a sexual deviate?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't believe I made any such statement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever state to anyone that you have lived in Greenwich Village with a Negro girl?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't want to raise the race issue. I don't believe I ever stated that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever state that you and a Negro girl, with whom you lived in Greenwich Village, were both Communist Party members?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall any such statement.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, ever make such a statement?

(There was a crash.)

Mr. MATUSOW. That was Johnny stepping around.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, in fact, ever live in Greenwich Village with a Negro girl?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever state, to show what good party members you were, you and this girl intended to adopt 2 children, 1 Chinese and 1 Negro?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, I have here an affidavit signed by Martha N. and John Edmiston, of Warren County, Ohio. I would like to offer this affidavit for the record and for consideration of the committee, as to whether the Edmistons or either of them should be called as a witness.

Mr. MATUSOW. What else could you expect from professional witnesses.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait a minute. That is a gratuitous statement, and it will not go in the record.

Senator DANIEL. Do not judge all of them by yourself.

Mr. MATUSOW. I know the Edmistons quite well, sir. I can judge them by my standards.

Mr. SOURWINE. That was my next question, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

(The Edmiston affidavit, dated February 14, 1955, and consisting of 6 pages, was marked "Exhibit 30," and appears below:)

### EXHIBIT No. 30

#### AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF OHIO, *Butler County*, ss:

Before me, the undersigned authority, this day personally appeared MARTHA N. EDMISTON and JOHN J. EDMISTON, otherwise known as Ed EDMISTON, of Waynesville, Warren County, Ohio, to me well known and known to be the persons who have signed the following statement, and, being by me first duly sworn, did depose and say:

That MARTHA N. EDMISTON now is Public Relations Director for Aeronca Manufacturing Corporation of Middletown, Ohio, and that previously, and during most of the time when the facts related herein transpired, was Public Information Officer at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio.

That JOHN J. (Ed) EDMISTON now is a reporter for the Middletown Journal, of Middletown, Ohio, and that during part of the time when the facts related

herein transpired, he was a reporter for the Dayton Journal-Herald, of Dayton, Ohio, and later was engaged in publicity and public relations work in Dayton, Ohio.

That during the years 1940 and 1941 both Affiants herein were employed as undercover operatives for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, engaged in reporting the activities of the Communist Party; and, employed as such, were affiliated with the Communist Party Sections in Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio; and that they joined the Communist Party at the request of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, reporting to FBI agents in Columbus and Cincinnati.

That on or about July 12, 13, and 14, 1950, they gave sworn testimony of their experiences while so employed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation before the Committee on Un-American Activities of the U. S. House of Representatives, and attention is invited to a printed report of said hearings, published by the House of Representatives.

The Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON further deposes and says:

That during the late summer or early fall of 1951 she first met one HARVEY MARSHALL MATUSOW while she was chief of the Press Section of the Public Information Office, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Dayton, Ohio; and that at that time CAPTAIN HOWARD L. HENSLEY, now believed to be residing in Oakland, California, was Public Information Officer, a post to which she succeeded a few weeks later.

That on the occasion when she first met him, Matusow was a staff sergeant in the U. S. Air Force, assigned to Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

That at the time, Matusow told the Affiant and CAPTAIN HENSLEY that he had been referred to the Public Information Office by a chaplain assigned to the Air Force Base; that Matusow related that he had told the chaplain he had been a Communist Party member in New York City for approximately five years; that during the last year of his membership he had experienced a "change of heart" toward Communism, and for some months had reported information on Communist activities to the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and that he had been expelled from the Communist Party early in 1951.

That Matusow related that he had told the chaplain he was anxious to "clear my name" and to instruct youth on the dangers of Communism as he had learned them; that he wished clearance to speak to youth groups on the subject; that he wished to regain the faith and confidence of his parents, who, he said, had been made unhappy by his Communist activities and affiliations, and to merit their devotion to him, particularly since he was their only living son, his only brother having been killed in service during World War II.

That MATUSOW said the chaplain had advised him to take his problem to the Public Information Office since that office had jurisdiction over the speaking engagements of Air Force military personnel.

That the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON then asked MATUSOW whether he had offered to testify concerning his Communist experience before the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any other Congressional body assigned to Communist investigation, in an attempt to "clear his name;" that MATUSOW said he had not.

That the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON and CAPTAIN HENSLEY then asked MATUSOW whether he had talked with, or was known to, the Dayton office of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and that MATUSOW replied in the negative. But that he told the Affiant and CAPTAIN HENSLEY that he had advised the Office of Special Investigations at the Air Force Base of his Communist activities.

That the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON and CAPTAIN HENSLEY instructed MATUSOW that he could not speak publicly on Communism without permission from Higher Authority, and advised him against any public utterance on the subject since he admittedly had not attained a status of privilege by appearing before Congress or a Court of Record.

That upon being advised that the Affiants herein formerly had been assigned by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to report on Communist activities, and that they subsequently had testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities, as hereinabove related, MATUSOW asked the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON to assist him to clear his name and to expose Communism in the New York City area by helping to bring his facts to the attention of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

That the Affiant then referred MATUSOW to her husband, Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON, who might assist MATUSOW in what appeared to her to be a worthy and patriotic undertaking; that at the time MATUSOW impressed her as an humble, appealing young man, sincere in his expressed wish to be regarded as a loyal American and to do his part in combating the evils of Communism.

That, upon MATUSOW's leaving her office, the Affiant immediately called Harlan D. Shaw, FBI agent in Dayton, advising him of the information MATUSOW had given her, and seeking confirmation of MATUSOW's statement that he had supplied information to the New York office of the FBI.

The Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON further deposes and says:

That on an evening following his wife's meeting MATUSOW, the Affiant received a telephone call from MATUSOW asking for an interview; and that night the Affiant met MATUSOW in the Century Bar in Dayton, Ohio, a tavern then frequented by newspaper people.

That on this occasion MATUSOW reiterated substantially what he had told the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON and that some of the conversation and parts of his narrative of Communist Party experiences in New York were overheard by R. MARSHALL STROSS, City Editor, and Mrs. ELEANOR C. LONG, Financial Editor, of the Dayton Journal Herald, who occupied a tavern booth with MATUSOW and the Affiant.

That upon hearing MATUSOW's plausible story, and believing that it was true, the Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON suggested that MATUSOW prepare an autobiographical account of his entire life, outlining his reasons for entering the Communist Party, his experiences as a member and an explanation of what underlay his so-called "change of heart." And the Affiant further suggested that MATUSOW prepare a list of names, addresses and descriptions, as best he could remember them, of persons who, to his certain knowledge, were members of the Communist Party. That he should write all that he knew to be true, and nothing else; and that when this material was prepared, both Affiants would question him thoroughly, and if convinced of the complete truth of his narrative, the Affiants would bring MATUSOW's information to the attention of an investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Thereafter for several weeks, the Affiants had frequent conferences with MATUSOW and he usually was a weekend guest at their home, near Waynesville, Ohio. On these occasions both Affiants questioned him on various phases of his Communist activities.

That Affiants acquainted MATUSOW with the formula for identification of Communist Party members which was observed in their testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities in July 1950, which formula is described in the Committee's report of the hearing.

They repeatedly warned MATUSOW that he must offer only information he knew to be absolutely factual. They warned of the irreparable damage which could be done to persons falsely identified as Communists. They also warned him of the injustice which could be done through implications and generalities. And at all times they insisted to him that the testimony adduced before Courts and Congressional investigating bodies must be unimpeachable.

That the Affiants also advised MATUSOW that the deportment of a witness before Congress must at all times be above reproach, and that he must observe the deference due to the dignity of Congress; and that they strove to correct some of MATUSOW's crude mannerisms, which appeared to them to be "hang-overs" from his several years of Communist Party training and association, notable bad table manners, overbearing treatment of waiters and other service employes, constant nervous interruption of the conversation of others and insistence on being the center of attention of all persons present.

That between the date of the interview with Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON at the Century Bar and sometime, either in late September or early October 1951, MATUSOW prepared notes which he represented to contain the facts of his early life and Communist Party experiences to the best of his recollection; that the material in these notes was reviewed by both Affiants with MATUSOW; that the Affiants concluded that his account of his experiences was truthfully told and that his information was reliable.

Accordingly, soon thereafter, the Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON telephoned DON APPELL, investigator for the Committee on Un-American Activities, relating briefly some of the contents of MATUSOW's notes and his statements supporting them.

That APPELL came to Dayton, Ohio, within a few days; that he was driven from Dayton to the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base by the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON to call upon officers at the Air Force Base and to observe proper military channels in arranging a series of interviews with MATUSOW at the Dayton Biltmore Hotel. That although APPELL for the most part was driven about the city and the airbase by the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON in her own car, the Air Force officials cooperated with MATUSOW by supplying him with a



staff car and military driver for trips to and from the Air Force Base over a two-day period required for the interviews.

That at the conclusion of his interviews with MATUSOW, APPELL told the Affiants he was convinced that while MATUSOW's information was limited, it nevertheless would be worth the attention of his Committee.

That APPELL advised the Affiants he had given a subpoena to MATUSOW to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities, and that MATUSOW would be subject to call. Also, in the presence of the Affiants, APPELL instructed MATUSOW not to reveal the fact that he had been called upon to testify until the Committee approved the hearing and properly announced the fact.

That, nevertheless, word of the proposed forthcoming hearing was spread among the enlisted personnel at the Air Force Base; and when the Affiants confronted MATUSOW with the "leak" he denied he was responsible for it.

That on or about October 19, 1951, MATUSOW completed a typewritten memorandum, containing more than 70 pages, which purported to sketch his early life and to give a narrative account of his experiences in the Communist Party. A reproduction of a carbon copy of this memorandum is attached to this Affidavit, marked "EXHIBIT A." At some time not far from that date, he prepared a typewritten list of names of persons he identified as members of the Communist Party, containing more than 30 pages. A reproduction of several pages of this list is attached, marked "EXHIBIT B."

That MATUSOW repeatedly had told both Affiants, as he reportedly told APPELL, that the information contained in his memorandum and his list of Communist membership constituted all the information he could relate truthfully concerning the Communist Party and its members, as known to him.

Late in November or early in December 1951, MATUSOW was summoned to Washington, D. C., to appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities in executive hearing. The Affiant, JOHN J. EDMISTON, drove with him to Washington in the Affiant's car upon MATUSOW's insistence that the Affiant accompany him.

It was on this occasion, to the best of the Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON's recollection, that MATUSOW proposed to visit other Congressional investigating committees for the purpose of offering his testimony on Communist matters. The Affiant then told MATUSOW that if he attempted such a breach of faith with the Committee on Un-American Activities, the Affiant would so advise APPELL.

That the Affiant then reminded MATUSOW that his opportunity to testify and "clear his name" had been afforded by the Committee on Un-American Activities and that the Committee had an investment of traveling expenses and research in him.

That after MATUSOW and the Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON returned to the Dayton area from the executive hearing of the Committee on Un-American Activities, a number of other events transpired which led the Affiants to reconstruct their views of MATUSOW's character and general responsibility and his emotional stability, although they then continued to believe that the statements in his memorandum and list of Communist membership were true.

That the Affiants noted a change in MATUSOW's attitude from the guise of an unassuming airman who had appealed to them for help and guidance to clear his name and perform a public service, to an overbearing individual who seemed suddenly to have been overcome by a sense of his importance as a public figure; that they began hearing complaints from enlisted men and officers at the Wright-Patterson Air Force Base; that MATUSOW was "throwing his weight," and boasting that he was a "national figure."

That MATUSOW persisted in this contention that his role as an informer to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a scant few months would be the basis of nationwide publicity; and that he outlined to the Affiants his plan to write a motion picture of his life—in which he proposed to play the stellar role. That the Affiants attempted to disabuse him of these ideas, pointing out the notable public services of such former Communists as Ben Gitlow, Elizabeth Bentley, Ben Mandel, Whittaker Chambers, Maurice Malkin and others whose sincere conversion from Communism involved no histrionics.

And Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON further deposes MATUSOW stated to her on several occasions that he had been subject to "crying fits" and periods of dependency; and that he also disclosed that he had undergone psychiatric treatments at the Base Hospital, Wright-Patterson Air Force Base.

And Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON further deposes and says that MATUSOW had described to him that at some time during the postwar period he had suffered

a "nervous breakdown" and had retired to a secluded place in New York State to recover.

The Affiants further depose that some time prior to MATUSOW's appearance in open hearing before the Committee on Un-American Activities (on or about February 6, 1952) he was employed as an investigator for the Commission on Un-American Activities of the General Assembly of Ohio; that during the course of this employment as investigator of Communism in Ohio, which, as they recollect, was during the spring of that year, other incidents occurred which reflected on MATUSOW's character.

That at the beginning of MATUSOW's employment with the Ohio Commission, the Affiants loaned him a car to use in travels incident to his employment. That on or about the night of February 1, 1952, the Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON was told by the Waynesville police officer that MATUSOW, while driving the Affiant's car, had "skipped" from a Springfield, Ohio, filling station after obtaining approximately \$5.00 worth of fuel and oil and that the matter had been placed in the hands of the prosecuting attorney of Clark County, Ohio. That, although the Waynesville police officer offered to settle the matter by paying the bill himself, he said he was told by the prosecutor there were circumstances in the case which could not be settled by the mere payment of the bill. That MATUSOW later reproached the Affiant for his failure to "protect" MATUSOW on the bill.

That during the said open hearing in Washington, in fact, on the first day of MATUSOW's testimony, the death of King George of England was reported in Washington newspapers and in newspapers all over the nation, whereupon MATUSOW ranted that he had been "robbed" of his "publicity" in connection with the hearing, declaring that his testimony was entitled to "front page" treatment by newspapers, and that he repeatedly stressed his "rotten break" in the press during his stay in Washington and thereafter.

And Affiant JOHN J. EDMISTON further deposes that at a time following the open hearing mentioned above, MATUSOW requested this Affiant to order the Third National Bank & Trust Co. of Dayton, Ohio, to stop payment on a cheque MATUSOW had given to the Congressional Hotel, Washington, D. C., in payment of hotel bills incurred there, and this the Affiant declined to do.

That on February 8, 1952, Affiants delivered to MATUSOW a certificate of title to the automobile they had loaned him, receiving his promissory note in sum of \$300, due May 15, 1952, on his representation of need for the car in connection with his further work for the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities. That, as he agreed, MATUSOW paid \$124.00 on said note on February 23, 1952, which payment was credited on the note; but that on May 15, 1952, MATUSOW left Dayton, where he then resided, to go to New York, where he lived for a while at the residence of his parents.

That after repeated telephone calls to New York, and talks with MATUSOW's mother, and later talks with MATUSOW, the Affiant MARTHA EDMISTON received payment of the balance of the note indebtedness, after several months, as she remembers. A reproduction of the note is attached hereto, marked "EXHIBIT C."

That, meanwhile, the Affiants learned of other disturbing activities by MATUSOW which caused them complete lack of confidence in him. And these matters are recited herein on information and belief, and it is the belief of the Affiants that more suitable evidence is obtainable.

That they were advised by ALAN PRITCHARD, former reporter for the Dayton Daily News, Dayton, Ohio, that MATUSOW asked him for the newspaper's file on Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio; that MATUSOW examined the file and was told by PRITCHARD that he would find nothing in the file which would help him in his then current investigation of Antioch College, undertaken, he said, for the Ohio Commission on Un-American Activities. That PRITCHARD reported MATUSOW told him words to this effect: "Never mind, if the files don't show anything, I'll make a case out of them anyhow."

That on reliable information and belief, MATUSOW was observed ritting students' wardrobes and effects in a dormitory at Antioch College, but escaped the campus without being detained, and that this presumably occurred while he was employed by the Ohio Commission.

And Affiants further depose that MATUSOW told them he had "lifted" material from the Affiants' experiences in the Communist Party and given them as his firsthand information in executive hearing before the House Committee.

And Affiants further depose that, although they have refused consistently to have any further dealings or relations with MATUSOW since May 15, 1952, he has sought repeatedly to renew his former relations with them, that on several occasions he has placed long distance telephone calls to their residence and on

each instance has been told by the Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON that neither of the Affiants herein wish any further relations, social or business, with him.

The Affiant MARTHA N. EDMISTON further deposes that on a day during the summer of 1953, although MATUSOW had been told repeatedly that neither of the Affiants wished to see him again, he drove by the home of the Affiants, near Waynesville, Ohio, and failing to get on the premises, parked his car and trailer on a country road in front of her mother's home nearby.

That the Affiant drove up to the spot at that time; that MATUSOW then told her he wished to visit the Affiants at their home and "right myself," asking that he be "forgiven" for his behavior; that he then stated he was "through with being a witness" before Courts and Congressional committees; that he had "made a mess in Washington." Thereupon the Affiant told him he had only himself to blame for any "mess in Washington;" that he had lied in his testimony concerning Antioch College and had lied on other occasions.

That MATUSOW then told the Affiant the newspapers had "misquoted" and "misrepresented" him in their accounts of his testimony on Antioch College; and MATUSOW then sidestepped the Affiant's direct accusation that he had lied further, talking about his personal affairs, stating he was unhappy because the Affiants had lost faith in him, and said he was going to a place he called Silver Springs, Colorado, to "see no one and talk to no one." Thereupon the Affiant told him if he would do just that, he would be doing the entire nation a favor, and drove off.

That this was the last occasion when either of the Affiants have seen MATUSOW in person, but that in February 1954, Affiants received a letter from him, enclosing a carbon copy of a poem he said he had composed.

A reproduction of this letter, marked "EXHIBIT D," and a reproduction of the carbon copy of the poem, marked "EXHIBIT E," are attached hereto and are submitted without comment.

And the Affiants herein further depose and say that the statements contained in this affidavit are true, except for those which are recited on information and belief, and that those are believed to be true.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Affiants MARTHA N. EDMISTON and JOHN J. EDMISTON, sometimes known as Ed EDMISTON, residents of Waynesville, Warren County, Ohio, hereunto have set their signatures this 14th day of February 1955, at Middletown in Butler County, Ohio.

(s) MARTHA N. EDMISTON.

(s) JOHN J. EDMISTON.

SUBSCRIBED AND SWORN before me, a Notary Public in and for said County and State, on the date and in the place above named.

[SEAL]

(s) TILMON A. ELLISON,  
Notary Public, State of Ohio.

My commission expires April 1, 1955.

Mr. FAULKNER. Does that mean that will be printed in the record before it is verified by witnesses?

Mr. SOURWINE. This is an affidavit.

Mr. FAULKNER. Then I am to assume that any affidavit that is submitted to this committee, without the contents being verified, except by the affiant of that affidavit, it goes into the record?

Mr. SOURWINE. What is your point?

Mr. FAULKNER. My point is that I think that the people who made the affidavit should be brought before the committee and cross-examined as to the contents and the truthfulness of this affidavit.

The CHAIRMAN. That is something that we are going to consider, Mr. Faulkner.

Mr. FAULKNER. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know Martha and John Edmiston?

Mr. MATUSOW. I know Ed Edmiston—I believe he is called—his name was John—I believed it was changed to Ed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him in 1951?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, as a matter of fact, what you said about the name is purely gratuitous. You know his nickname is "Ed," and his name is John?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was informed by him that he had changed it, or was going to change it legally to "Ed."

Mr. SOURWINE. His name is "Ed," in the same way that your name is "Mat," the first syllable of the last name, and he is frequently called that.

Mr. MATUSOW. You are informing me of something I know nothing about. I thought it had been legally changed, but it is the same John Edmiston.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know him in 1951?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you go to see Martha Edmiston at Wright Field in September 1951?

Mr. MATUSOW. I never, at Wright Field.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever go to see her?

Mr. MATUSOW. I never.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. I never, there.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the facts in connection with it.

Mr. MATUSOW. I went to see the base public relations officer. While there, I was introduced to Martha Edmiston.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, maybe I am confused. Is it not a fact that you went to see the chaplain and he suggested that you go see the Edmistons?

Mr. MATUSOW. He suggested that I see the base public relations officer, and I believe you will find that in the book.

Senator WELKER. Then as a result of that, then did you see the Edmistons?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right, sir.

Senator WELKER. And for a long time you were on friendly relations?

Mr. MATUSOW. For a few months; yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. What caused you to have a difference of opinion?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't care to go into that, sir. I could go into it, but it has nothing to do with this case, and I think it would embarrass the Edmistons. I do not want to make those type of statements. Do you want me to tell, sir—I will tell you why, but I would rather not, because it will embarrass the Edmistons, not me.

Senator WELKER. Well, I will leave it to the committee chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not catch the question. What is the question?

Senator WELKER. I asked him what caused the difference of opinion, the enmity between the two after their prior friendly relations.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is material.

Mr. MATUSOW. If you direct me to, sir, I will.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. When I knew the Edmistons, Mr. John Edmiston was a habitual drunkard, and you could not get along with him—it is just that simple—never stayed sober. He was a professional witness, could not stay sober—testified before the House Committee in 1950.

Senator WELKER. As a matter of fact, you were doing a little drinking in those days, too, were you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, I don't think you can find anybody in this world who has ever seen me drunk.

Senator WELKER. Well, as I recall yesterday, certainly you gave the committee the inference.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said I was a teetotaler.

Senator WELKER. That you turned around and saw your picture in the bar.

Mr. MATUSOW. I didn't say I was drunk, though.

Senator WELKER. No, I did not ask you whether you were drunk.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right.

Senator WELKER. And you said you weighed some 230 pounds.

Mr. MATUSOW. I did, sir.

Senator WELKER. I believe I interrogated you with respect to whether you were drinking water or ginger ale or something.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said I believe I was drinking Scotch—I was living high off the hog, and I looked like one.

Senator WELKER. You were drinking Scotch then?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. And you are 5 foot 8—went up to the size of 230 pounds?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. That would be an interesting fact for the jury. I am through.

Is there any other reason why you differed with the Edmiston?

Mr. MATUSOW. I just could not get along with John Edmiston.

Senator WELKER. Why?

Mr. MATUSOW. Because the man would get drunk and get off into all kinds of rages and just go out of his head, so to speak, and just did not get along, that is all.

Senator WELKER. Is that one of the reasons why the Air Force had trouble with you and you hated the Air Force because they sent you over to see them so they might comfort you?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir. I am not trying to leave an inference about his wife. I am talking about him.

Senator WELKER. I did not get that last answer.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said I was not talking about Mrs. Edmiston. I was talking about Mr. Edmiston.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you went to see the Edmiston, or Mrs. Edmiston—I will withdraw that question. You testified you did not go there to see them; is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; I went to see the base public-relations officer.

Mr. SOURWINE. When you went there, did you know in advance that you were going to see Mrs. Edmiston?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know she worked in that office?

Mr. MATUSOW. A vague recollection—I don't even know whether I did or not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you know whether she existed?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know anything about her?

Mr. MATUSOW. Don't recall.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, with the assistance and encouragement of the Edmiston, prepare a written account of your experiences as a Communist?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, with the assistance, through the discussions with the Edmiston, I made some statements about my Communist activities.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the 71-page document which went into the record here yesterday?

Mr. MATUSOW. I talked about that, certain documents, sir, and again, sir, as I did yesterday, I will have to decline to answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you in connection with that document prepare a list of persons personally known by you to be Communists?

Mr. MATUSOW. I decline to answer that question, sir, on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you state in your book False Witness, in chapter II, referring to the preparation of this 71-page affidavit, "This phase of preparation in my mind was for the sole purpose of clearing my name so that I could be an average GI"?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I don't know just what you are talking about, this phase of what, sir? That might be a sentence in my book—very possibly.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that sentence in your book referring—

Mr. MATUSOW. Let me look for it. It would be easier. I don't want to take the committee's time. The sentence could be in my book—I would say it is.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right, sir. Did that affidavit then contain the truth?

Mr. MATUSOW. What affidavit, sir?

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you not give an affidavit to the truth of the 71-page document in question?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know what 71-page document you are talking about, but I don't recall giving any affidavit to anybody at that period of time.

Mr. SOURWINE. I am talking about the document that went into the record yesterday.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall any affidavit, sir. I am not—I told you yesterday about certain documents put in the record that I would not answer that question on the basis of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, on the occasion of your first talk with Mrs. Edmiston, do you remember talking with her for some time about the experiences of Howard "Howdy" Ensley?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall. We discussed Captain Ensley on a number of occasions. He was a friend of theirs and base public relations officer.

Mr. SOURWINE. Ensley is not important, except for the purpose of trying to refresh your recollection about that occasion when you first met Mrs. Edmiston.

Mr. MATUSOW. The recollections I have about the conversation dealt mainly with our discussing cats, felines.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you, as you got to the door, after discussing various other things with her, turn to her and say, "I want to come out and visit you and your husband; you have a big stone fireplace and lots of cats"?

Mr. MATUSOW. Might have asked her if she had a stone fireplace, and I think we discussed the cats.

Mr. SOURWINE. How did you know that she had a stone fireplace and a lot of cats?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I knew she had cats, because she had cat hair on her clothing, and I am a cat fancier, and I have had similar cat hair on my own clothing.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had anyone told you—

Senator WELKER. Just a moment; is it not a fact that you said in your book—stated in your book—that she had 18 cats?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said about 18 cats, and she had about 8 dogs.

Senator WELKER. You are a cat lover—that attracted you to those people?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir. I once had 28 cats.

Senator WELKER. Well—

Mr. MATUSOW. It was not in an apartment. It was out in New Mexico.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did anyone tell you before this meeting that the Edmiston's kept cats?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. You deduced it simply from the presence of cat hairs on Mrs. Edmiston's clothing?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. How could you, from the presence of cat hairs on her clothing, deduce that she had lots of cats?

Mr. MATUSOW. If you had 18 cats, I think your clothing would show the fact that you had more than 1 cat.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the best answer you can give?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, it is the only answer I can give, because I deduced it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were there various shades and kinds of cat hair on Mrs. Edmiston's clothing that day?

Mr. MATUSOW. There must have been, because she had various shades and kinds of cats.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, did she have any fireplace stone on her clothing that day?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I think Mrs. Edmiston said she lived in a log cabin down in Waynesville, Ohio. I presume that anyone who lived in a log cabin had a stone fireplace.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you testifying that you had discussed Mrs. Edmiston's log cabin with her before you mentioned the stone fireplace?

Mr. MATUSOW. My recollection is yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, did you not mention the stone fireplace first before there had been any discussion of a fireplace or a log cabin?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not to my recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Matusow, did you investigate Antioch College in Ohio?

Mr. MATUSOW. I attempted to investigate it.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom were you employed?

Mr. MATUSOW. The Ohio Un-American Activities Commission.

The CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. MATUSOW. 1952; in the early part of the year.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you around the college much?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go into the dormitories?

Mr. MATUSOW. On one occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Now, state whether or not you were accused of rifling students' wardrobes and effects.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. In the dormitories?

Mr. MATUSOW. No such accusation.

The CHAIRMAN. You were never accused of that?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were never charged with that?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Senator DANIEL. Mr. Matusow, you mentioned a moment ago that you had written a vindictive and false edition of your book.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I had written a lot of vindictive and false material at one time.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. How many editions of this book False Witness did you write?

Mr. MATUSOW. Nobody saw this.

Senator DANIEL. Excuse me just a minute. How many editions did you write before you submitted this final edition to your publishers?

Mr. MATUSOW. This is the only edition I have written—in two drafts. The other thing I was referring to had nothing to do with this book. It was just a conglomeration of notes and pages of more editorial comments than fact, and in that respect it was kind of vindictive. I was not basing what I had written prior to that, and which I did not show to anybody but destroyed, on fact but rather on my opinion and comments.

Senator DANIEL. Well, they were notes for the book?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; they were not. Everything in relation to that other document was destroyed. I burned it.

Senator DANIEL. Well, just all I want to get was this—you brought it up a moment ago—you called it a vindictive edition, as I wrote it down here, of your book.

Mr. MATUSOW. I should not have said of this book, but of a book.

Senator DANIEL. Of a book—when did you write that?

Mr. MATUSOW. I wrote that, I guess it was September 1953, at least September or early October.

Senator DANIEL. 1953?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator DANIEL. Did you write any other editions?

Mr. MATUSOW. I do not want to confuse that with this present book because they are not the same.

Senator DANIEL. You did that, in my mind.

Mr. MATUSOW. I confused it, and I would like to clarify the record on that.

Senator DANIEL. Go ahead.

Mr. MATUSOW. I mean, they are not the same, and there should be no distinction—I mean, there should be a distinction between them.

Senator DANIEL. I refer to your testimony on February 21 before this committee, on page 146, where I asked you this:

As I understand it, you have thought for some time that your publishers, Mr. Kahn and Mr. Cameron, are members of the Communist Party. Is that correct?

And you answered:

I had accused them of it, yes, sir.



Now, Mr. Matusow, at one time you sincerely believed that Mr. Cameron and Mr. Kahn were members of the Communist Party; did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Or Communist-front groups.

Senator DANIEL. I asked you, did you or did you not at one time sincerely believe that your publishers, Mr. Kahn and Mr. Cameron, were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. In a broad sense, yes, sir, I did.

Senator DANIEL. As a matter of fact, on page 147 of the hearing on the same day you testified to that same question. I will read the question:

And you sincerely thought they were members?

Mr. MATUSOW. I sincerely thought they were members at the time.

You so testified; did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; I did.

Senator DANIEL. Was that the truth, to the best of your knowledge?

Mr. MATUSOW. At the time—at the time—at one time I thought that they were Communists and Communist-front groups.

Senator DANIEL. The only thing that I have not been satisfied about in connection with this is what has caused you to have any question about it or change your mind as to your belief that your publishers are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, it is quite simple, sir. I realized at one point that I was basing my belief upon statements made by myself and by individuals such as myself, who I believed were bearing false witness, and that the accusations against Mr. Cameron and Mr. Kahn and others might be true—might not be true, but my belief was based on surmise and hearsay, and not on facts.

Senator DANIEL. Well, it was based also on your investigation—just a moment—

Mr. MATUSOW. All right.

Senator DANIEL. So you will know what I am asking you.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator DANIEL. It was based also on your investigation of Mr. Kahn, the kinds of books he wrote and how those books were sponsored in the Communist bookshops, was it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not really so, sir. It was based more on information obtained elsewhere. Of course, part of my decision came about—it was supported by, in some way, by the fact that he wrote books which I knew were sold in the Communist bookshops, but at one time in my life I considered every author whose book appeared in a Communist bookshop a Communist Party member.

Senator DANIEL. That is not all that made you believe they were Communists?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is what I was trying to say—I was trying to say.

Senator DANIEL. That was not all, was it?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir. There was much more to it than that.

Senator DANIEL. Much more to it?

Mr. MATUSOW. The false testimony that I believe other witnesses have given against these people.

Senator DANIEL. You sincerely believed they were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. Right.

Senator DANIEL. And the truth about it today is that you still believe sincerely they are members of the Communist Party, do you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I do not.

Senator DANIEL. You do not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have no opinion one way or the other.

Senator DANIEL. You have no opinion one way or the other?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I say, sir, to clarify the record, they could be—I don't know—Communist or they don't necessarily have to be Communists—they might not be Communists—I don't know. If they just happened to be people who for years have taken the position which maybe in 1935 started as a position supporting the New Deal administration at that time, and have not moved from that basic position of the New Deal Democratic Party which many people have not moved from and today, because of that, are accused of being Communist, or—

Senator DANIEL. Mr. Matusow—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kahn was a candidate for Congress on the Progressive ticket in New York City, was he not?

Mr. MATUSOW. That was not the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I said on the Progressive ticket—was he not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Right, sir, American Labor Party.

The CHAIRMAN. And not a Democrat?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not say he was. I say they could have taken a position similar to the New Deal Democratic position.

Senator DANIEL. Mr. Matusow, that is not responsive to my question. It makes no difference to you now whether they are Communists or not?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is right, sir.

Senator DANIEL. That is the truth about it, is it not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I reiterate that I stated that in the record before.

Senator DANIEL. You have no fear of the Communist Party being a dangerous instrumentality?

Mr. MATUSOW. I say there are dangerous groups—far more dangerous groups than the Communist Party.

Senator DANIEL. Therefore, even if they are members of the Communist Party publishing this book for the Communists, it makes no difference to you—is that not the truth about it?

Mr. MATUSOW. It does make a difference to me, sir. You know why.

Senator DANIEL. Well, I just asked. Does it make a difference, "yes" or "no?"

Mr. MATUSOW. I would like to say yes, and tell you why—it is very brief—the reason is that if it is Simon & Schuster or Doubleday or another publisher, that published the book it would take the onus of Communist publishing off the book, and the book would have much more of an effect on the stability of what I believe is the stability of this country.

Senator DANIEL. What I am saying, though, is that if they are publishing a book to serve the Communist cause, that would not bother you in the least?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, the fact that they are publishing does not serve the Communist cause.

Senator DANIEL. I said if that is the purpose, if they are members of the Communist Party, and the purpose of the publication of your book, *False Witness*, is to serve the Communist cause in any respect, that would not concern you at all, would it?

Mr. MATUSOW. Your hypothesis is a little bit wrong.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. It cannot be answered, sir. I cannot answer a question that is I believe based on that hypothesis.

Senator DANIEL. I made it the hypothesis.

Mr. MATUSOW. If I believe it is incorrect as a hypothesis, I could not say "yes" or "no".

Senator DANIEL. It does not concern you that the men who are now publishing your book, whether they are members of the Communist Party or not, does it?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I have no opinion one way or the other.

Senator DANIEL. It does not concern you, either, whether most of the time Mr. Herb Tank has been a member of the Communist Party or not?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I have no opinion one way or another about it.

Senator DANIEL. It does not concern you whether this book you have published or that is going to be published is being published to serve the Communist Party or not, does it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe the book is serving the cause of truth—

Senator DANIEL. It does not concern—

Mr. MATUSOW. In that respect, it does not concern me.

Senator DANIEL. It does not concern you?

Mr. MATUSOW. In that respect only.

Senator DANIEL. I am reading here from a photostatic copy of your testimony before the Federal court in El Paso, Tex., in the case of *United States v. Clinton Jencks*, from page 482. You testified in that case, did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, I did. And I state now, because I am due to appear on the witness stand Monday—

Senator DANIEL. You have answered my question.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

Senator DANIEL. You said you did.

Mr. MATUSOW. I testified in the case.

Senator DANIEL. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Senator DANIEL. You were asked in that case as to whether or not you knew Craig Vincent and Jenny Vincent, were you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Senator DANIEL. Did you tell the court under oath in El Paso, Tex., in the Jencks case that you met Craig and Jenny Vincent at a Communist affair in the Hotel Albert in New York City?

Mr. MATUSOW. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Senator DANIEL. Now, Mr. Matusow, I will ask you without reference to this trial in El Paso, whether or not you actually met Craig and Jenny Vincent at a Communist affair in the Hotel Albert in New York City?

Mr. MATUSOW. I met them at the Hotel Albert. I did not know it was a Communist affair; no, sir.

Senator DANIEL. Did you know that they were members of the Communist Party at the time?

Mr. MATUSOW. I never knew them as Communists at any time.

Senator DANIEL. Did you testify to the Federal court that you knew them to be members of the Communist Party and, if so, was that a true and correct answer?

Mr. MATUSOW. I decline to answer that question, sir, on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Senator DANIEL. Did you give false testimony to the court in the case of Clinton Jencks?

Mr. MATUSOW. Wait a minute.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MATUSOW. My counsel informs me that an answer to that would be a waiver. I decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution, sir.

Senator DANIEL. Do you intend to decline to answer all questions that are put to you as to whether or not you told the truth in this Jencks' case in El Paso?

Mr. MATUSOW. I will have to decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment of the Constitution, unless—I will consult with counsel. If I find that I am not—it does not constitute a waiver in relation to such testimony, I will answer your question, sir.

Senator DANIEL. In other words, you will not now tell this committee that you lied in your testimony against Clinton Jencks in El Paso?

Mr. MATUSOW. Excuse me, sir.

(Witness confers with counsel.)

Mr. MATUSOW. I will be in El Paso on Monday to testify. In relation to your question, sir, I will have to decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth amendment to the Constitution.

Senator DANIEL. That is all.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, you spoke a moment ago—

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask him some questions.

Mr. Matusow, during the past 30 days, how many nights have you spent with Herb Tank?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, maybe 10, 15.

The CHAIRMAN. Ten or fifteen?

Mr. MATUSOW. About that.

The CHAIRMAN. If Mr. Tank has testified under oath that he spent all but 8 nights with you, would his testimony be true or false?

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, it could have been true, but I have not—at the time Mr. Tank testified I have not seen him in 5 days.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you if he has testified that he has spent all but 8 nights with you on 30 days before last Saturday—

Mr. MATUSOW. There is a different story.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute, please, sir. Would that testimony be true or false?

Mr. MATUSOW. Probably true.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Probably true.

Well, the truth is, then, that he spent approximately 22 nights with you of the 30 nights preceding last Saturday: is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, yes, sir; preceding last Saturday

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, just wait a minute.

Mr. MATUSOW. Approximately so.

The CHAIRMAN. Just wait a minute.

On those other 8 nights, I want you to testify whether or not you spent those nights with Mr. Albert Kahn, who you allege is one of your publishers?

Mr. MATUSOW. I might have spent 1 or 2 nights with Mr. Kahn and his family; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If Mr. Kahn testified that you spent 8 nights with him, would that testimony be true or false?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't think 8 nights of that 30—I don't believe so. I don't know, sir. I did not keep a diary notation—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you were—

Mr. MATUSOW (continuing). With me.

The CHAIRMAN. How many nights in 30 nights preceding last Saturday did you spend by yourself?

Mr. MATUSOW. I do not believe I spent any by myself, but the nights away from Mr. Tank or Mr. Kahn or Mr. Cameron—there have been nights, but I am not going to discuss where I spent my nights, other than that.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you the question, please, sir. You spent those 30 nights—now do not punch your attorney under the table.

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not punch him.

The CHAIRMAN. I see what is happening.

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, I am getting myself in a more comfortable position.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to answer these questions now. You spent 30 nights—in fact, for 30 days—and either Mr. Tank, Mr. Kahn, or Mr. Cameron was with you every night, were they not?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Where else did you spend a night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, if I tell the committee I won't ever be able to go back there. Nothing to do with—just a friend.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, the committee has sworn testimony that you were protected each one of those nights. I want the truth now. Where were you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I was not with the protector.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, you answer my question: Where were you?

Mr. MATUSOW. I was with a friend.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that friend?

Mr. MATUSOW. I forget that person's name.

The CHAIRMAN. No, sir; who is that friend? Now, I order you to testify.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, it is a little embarrassing.

Senator WELKER. What is?

Mr. MATUSOW. It gets a little embarrassing.

The CHAIRMAN. Come on and answer the question.

Mr. MATUSOW. Will the gentleman turn the television off? I might answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. You have got that right.

Mr. MATUSOW. Just for this question. I don't want to embarrass this person; I mean, it was just a lady friend.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that friend?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, I think I will have to stand here—if you want to cite me for contempt for defending the reputation of a lady, I will have to take that.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you are doing that.

Mr. MATUSOW. I am doing that.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you had a Communist bodyguard each of those nights, and we are trying to prove it.

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you spend—

Mr. MATUSOW. I am sorry; I am going to defend the reputation of this lady, if it means going to jail for contempt.

The CHAIRMAN. I am ordering you to testify.

Mr. MATUSOW. I will defend her reputation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not your reason.

Mr. MATUSOW. No—it is.

The CHAIRMAN. You are telling a falsehood.

Mr. MATUSOW. Sir, it is my reason.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that this committee has sworn testimony where you were those nights.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, you are talking about every night up until Saturday. Apparently Mr. Kahn and Mr. Tank were down here on Saturday—I could not have been with them.

The CHAIRMAN. I said 30 nights preceding last Saturday.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe they left New York on Friday. I couldn't have been with them on Friday—they were here. They were on the all-night train.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you with a lady friend Friday night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that the only night?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, when was the other time?

Mr. MATUSOW. Maybe Thursday night—I think I was alone.

The CHAIRMAN. Thursday night?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is without the company of Mr. Kahn or Mr. Tank.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. What other nights?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall specifically, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall specifically; 1 or 2 other nights in that period.

The CHAIRMAN. One or two other nights?

Mr. MATUSOW. In that period; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of 2 or 3 nights, you were with Tank or Kahn or Cameron?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir. I admit that.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that right?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You went to different hotels?

Mr. MATUSOW. On three occasions.

The CHAIRMAN. And different hotels?

Mr. MATUSOW. On 4 nights, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Registered under assumed names, did you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. On four occasions, correcting the galley proofs of my book. I registered under an assumed name in a hotel or motel. The rest of that time I had been at my own home or at the office, Cameron & Kahn.

The CHAIRMAN. You stayed at Mr. Tank's apartment several nights?

Mr. MATUSOW. One night specifically.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it one night?

Mr. MATUSOW. One night that I recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you certain of that now?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You swear you were at his apartment only one night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Spent the full night there, to my recollection, only one night.

The CHAIRMAN. Only one night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You met Mr. Tank about 30 days ago?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, it was the latter part of January; so, 45—maybe 45 days ago.

The CHAIRMAN. About 45 days ago?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And he has been your companion since that time?

Mr. MATUSOW. On and off he has been with me.

The CHAIRMAN. You have known him, of course—you want to be frank with this committee, do you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have known him as a member of the Communist Party, have you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have known him as a very active member of the Communist Party, have you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How?

Mr. MATUSOW. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have thought he was one of the strong-arm men of the Communist Party, have you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. Never made any such accusation, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I ask you the question, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir, I never thought he was a strong-arm Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the nights that you were not with Mr. Kahn, Mr. Tank—wait a minute; answer my question—or Mr. Cameron, state whether or not you were with a member of the Communist Party on those nights.

Mr. MATUSOW. To my recollection on any of those nights, I was not with the gentleman whom you just mentioned, who—

The CHAIRMAN. I said a member.

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know of any Communist party who I was with.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you if you were with a member of the Communist Party on those nights.

Mr. MATUSOW. So far as I know, no, sir—I have not been with a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Who was the lady that you were with?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am sorry, sir; I am not going to tell you.

Senator DANIEL. Did you spend the night with one of these women on Friday night, that you have testified about?

Mr. MATUSOW. I recollect Friday night spending a night with somebody.

Senator DANIEL. Who was not your wife?

Mr. MATUSOW. I am not married, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was she married?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. How?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did not say I had any relationship with somebody—might have sat up all night and played chess.

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. But was the lady married?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not to my knowledge.

Senator DANIEL. Was it the same lady of Thursday night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Partly.

Senator DANIEL. What?

Mr. MATUSOW. Played chess with a lady on Thursday night.

Senator DANIEL. Now, Mr. Matusow—

Mr. MATUSOW. I did actually play chess with a lady on Thursday night.

Senator DANIEL. I am asking you, did you spend the night with a lady, or a woman on Thursday night that you have testified about here?

(Senator Jenner entered the hearing room.)

Mr. MATUSOW. I spent a few hours with a lady on Thursday night.

Senator DANIEL. How many hours?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall. I was not keeping track of the time—very pleasant company, and time went on.

Senator DANIEL. Why do you want to protect the woman's name? I am not going to ask her name.

Mr. MATUSOW. That is all, sir.

Senator DANIEL. I want to find for the record if you have been testifying truthfully before this committee.

Mr. MATUSOW. I will gladly, off the record, after the hearing, give you the name of the lady, or any member of the committee.

Senator DANIEL. I do not want it.

Mr. MATUSOW. The main reason is that I am kind of controversial, you know—the newspapermen are here, and this is all going to come out. Why involve somebody who has nothing to do with this, who is just a friend.

Senator DANIEL. No member of this committee is going to ask you any further about any name—just asking you how long you were with this woman—

Mr. MATUSOW. Well—

Senator DANIEL (continuing). Thursday night.

Mr. MATUSOW. I think we had dinner. In fact, I think we had dinner in a place called Mother Hubbard's Restaurant, Sheridan's place.



Senator DANIEL. Where did you spend the night?

Mr. MATUSOW. I spend every night in my apartment.

Senator DANIEL. Your own apartment?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes.

Senator DANIEL. Who was with you in that apartment?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have a friend there sometimes, and sometimes I was alone.

Senator DANIEL. Was this woman there with you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Part of the time.

Senator DANIEL. Part of the night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Evening—night.

Senator DANIEL. How many hours?

Mr. MATUSOW. When I am away, you know, up back home in New York, prior to the weekends, I usually stay up most of the night, talking with friends.

Senator DANIEL. I asked you about this friend.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; part of the night—I don't recall how long—I did not log the hours.

Senator DANIEL. And then on Friday night, was it the same woman who was within your—

Mr. MATUSOW. With me?

Senator DANIEL. In your apartment?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator DANIEL. How long did she stay there that night?

Mr. MATUSOW. Again, I don't recall. I don't log the time.

Senator DANIEL. Was it at least half of the night?

Mr. MATUSOW. What do you consider night? From dawn until dusk to dawn?

Senator DANIEL. Well, now, the chairman of this committee was asking you if Herb Tank or Mr. Kahn were not with you each night during this 30-day period.

Mr. MATUSOW. I said, "No, sir."

Senator DANIEL. Except for certain nights.

Mr. MATUSOW. Right, sir.

Senator DANIEL. And you were explaining to him, no, someone else was with you 2 nights. What did you mean when you said someone else was with you 2 nights? How much of the nights did you mean?

Mr. MATUSOW. I usually spent the sleeping hours of my evening alone.

Senator DANIEL. What about Thursday and Friday nights?

Mr. MATUSOW. That is what I am talking about.

Senator DANIEL. You spent those alone?

Mr. MATUSOW. And Saturday; yes, sir.

Senator DANIEL. You want this committee, which has just witnessed your answers that you are giving here, to believe that that is the truth?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, sir, I know that some Government agents were tailing me at one point during the evening, and two Government agents were found in my apartment by a friend, and I think maybe the reports of those Government agents could corroborate what I am saying.

Senator DANIEL. I asked if you wanted the members of this committee to believe that that is the truth, and that you spent the nights of Thursday and Friday, that you have been inquired about, alone?

Mr. MATUSOW. Partially alone, and partially in the company of a lady friend; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. With no man, aside from this lady, on those two nights—no man was with you; is that correct?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I might meet a man in the street, or having dinner and chat with him.

The CHAIRMAN. You know what I am talking about.

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; nobody in the sense of Mr. Tank or Kahn, as they had been with me prior to that.

The CHAIRMAN. To be perfectly frank, Mr. Tank has been your bodyguard, has he not?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; I would not term him "bodyguard."

The CHAIRMAN. And you know that he has been arrested for Communist activity all over the world, do you not?

Mr. MATUSOW. I know that he told me once that he had been—not arrested, but he had been picked up, taken off his ship when he was a merchant seaman in South Africa.

The CHAIRMAN. And he told you about being arrested in India, did he not?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; he did not.

The CHAIRMAN. How?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. He told you about being picked up in South Africa for Communist activity?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir, he said he was on his ship, an American-flag vessel, I believe he said, and in the Union of South Africa the police came aboard his ship and took him off the ship. At that time he was a leader in the National Maritime Workers Union, CIO.

The CHAIRMAN. And you mean to testify now it was not for Communist activity?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, do you know what a gambit is?

Mr. MATUSOW. A what?

Mr. SOURWINE. A gambit.

Mr. MATUSOW. I play chess. I know what a gambit is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Can you tell us the first move of King's gambit?

Mr. MATUSOW. I usually move my piece down to king pawn down—king pawn down to 4.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow—

Mr. MATUSOW. But I usually open with a queen's pawn, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember talking about the Edmiston and your aversion to Mr. Edmiston's drunkenness?

Mr. MATUSOW. I mentioned it.

Mr. SOURWINE. When was it that you broke with the Edmiston, because you could not stand the drunkenness of John Edmiston?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall the date—in early 1952, I believe, sir, to corroborate that statement, the date that you want.

Mr. SOURWINE. Just the year is enough.

Mr. MATUSOW. 1952.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, I send you a photostat of a letter, and I ask you if that is the letter which you wrote?

Mr. MATUSOW. While I am looking at that, can I take a couple of minutes' break? I have got some dentures, I want to rinse my mouth.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir; identify that first, and then take the break. Do not take that out of the room, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right. Yes, I wrote the letter.

Mr. SOURWINE. Before you take your break, will you read the first sentence of that letter out loud. It is addressed to Martha and John Edmiston, is it not.

Mr. MATUSOW. Martha and Ed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Martha and Ed—what is the first sentence of the letter?

Mr. MATUSOW (reading) :

I have been waiting a long time to write this letter, for it is now, after 2 years that I feel the time is right.

Mr. SOURWINE. The second sentence.

Mr. MATUSOW (reading) :

I hope, with all the hope and faith, faith that I have finally found, that I regain in some small way the true and honest friendship and love that you both gave me, and that I destroyed.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. MATUSOW. February 11, 1954.

Mr. SOURWINE. May we have a short recess, Mr. Chairman?

Senator DANIEL. Who sent the letter?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did. I do not believe I signed it, yes, I don't know if that is a signature, but I presume that I signed it.

Senator DANIEL. You wrote it?

The CHAIRMAN. You wrote the letter?

Mr. MATUSOW. I admit writing it.

Senator WELKER. Before we go into recess, may I ask that immediately after recess I pursue this question of the Edmiston's?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir; might I just before I go—

Senator WELKER. I did not ask you. I asked the chairman.

Mr. MATUSOW. In cooperation, in the court record, Judge Dimock's court there is a diary which—a contemporary diary that I kept during that period referred to, and I do not have a copy of it, it is in the court's record—in that diary there is more than one notation about Mr. Edmiston's drunkenness.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a short recess.

(Short recess taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The hearing will come to order.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, may this letter which Mr. Matusow has just identified as having been written by him to the Edmiston's be placed in the record at this point?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

(The letter dated February 11, 1954, was marked "Exhibit No. 31" and appears below:)

## EXHIBIT No. 31

1491 Macombs Road, Bronx 52, New York

Feb. 11, 1954

HARVEY M. MATUSOW

Dear Martha &amp; Ed:

I have been waiting a long time to write this letter, for it is now, after two years that I feel the time is right. I hope, with all the hope and faith, faith that I have finally found, that I regain in some small way the true and honest friendship and love that you both gave me, and that I destroyed. As you can see I am still not a speller, nor do I understand proper english grammer \* \* \* but all of a sudden this is unimportant.

I have gone thru a lot of hell within myself in the past 29 years, and only now do I realize that it was I who created this hell. I now feel, for the first time in my life, the true honest meaning of honesty \* \* \* or should I say, I can now live with myself. I have hurt many people in my life, some thru blindness, some thru hate, and many thru a combination of both. I don't beleive I've changed, it's just that I've learned to relax with life.

The hurt that I caused you both might be to deep for anything at any time to change \* \* \* I hope not, for I have learned. You might say, "more time Harvey, more time, then maybe the hurt can be covered". I don't know \* \* \* But please try to beleive that I understand now what I destroyed, when I destroyed our friendship, please understand. Enclosed is a Poem which I have just completed \* \* \* I hope you see in this, a reflection of what I am trying to say.

I am single again, for in September, my wife and I were divorced for the second time \* \* \* Here as in the case of our friendship, I destroyed honest love \* \* \* It was after the second divorce, that I beleive I came to my senses \* \* \* I went on a diet, and am now 165 pounds \* \* \* Lowest wieght since I was 13. I have quit politics, and returned to show business. I am writing TV scripts, and selling them, not talking about them. The poem with this letter is going to be published in the fall with about twenty others of mine, in a book called "Words and Moods" by Harvey Marshall \* \* \* Yes Matusow is dead, only revived for the Justice Dept. \* \* \* He is also dead for the Congressional Committees \* \* \* It feels wonderful now \* \* \* just looking at life and seeing it for the first time. Beside writing (not spelling) I am also doing some acting on both TV and in Off Broadway Teater \* \* \* Its a wonderful outlet, and helps me keep quiet at parties etc. \* \* \* I've become a listener. This I'm sure you'll never beleive, but really I can listen now \* \* \* Oh I still talk, but not as much. (I hope). I saw Louis Van Rooten last week, and he asked me to send his best \* \* \* I do \* \* \*

I hope we can find friendship in tears of the past \* \* \* please write or call collect \* \* \* CYPRESS 9 7563 \* \* \*

[The following written in script]

P. S. Please say hello to your Family—and to, well Just hello.

[Signed] HARVEY.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, I asked for the next question right along this line.

A few moments ago you told me of the, oh, you might say enmity or hard feelings you had with the Edmistons.

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. Now I would like to quote from your book that you have got religion—you want to tell the truth, and so forth. Your own words that you stated were the truth. Beginning at page No. 37, the third paragraph:

I thought that perhaps if I testified they'd let me alone and treat me as they did the other John Q. Airmen. So I sent an anonymous letter to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. In it I said: "Did you know that Harvey Matusow, a Communist youth leader, is now in the Air Force at Wright Air Force Base, etc." But I heard nothing.

I went to the chaplain. He was sympathetic, and I felt he understood my problem. He attempted to intervene in my behalf, but Air Force regulations

stopped him cold. He then offered what he considered a temporary solution for my problem. He arranged for me to meet with Martha Edmiston, a civilian who worked in the public-relations office of the base. She and her husband, Ed, had been FBI undercover informants in the Communist Party and had testified as friendly witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950.

I arrived at the base public-relations office, where I was introduced to the public-relations officer. We had a chat, discussing communism in general. His questions were pointed and barbed. During our talk a woman, whom I presumed to be a secretary, entered and left the office a number of times. I was not too conscious of her presence and supposed that her curiosity was motivated by the nature of our talk and not by who I was.

This was not the case, for she was finally introduced to me as Martha Edmiston, an attractive woman in her early forties; she had that perpetually youthful look: short haircut, fresh, outdoor, ruddy complexion, brisk walk, and pleasant mannerisms. We became friends almost immediately, for anticommunism was not the only thing we had in common. She and her husband loved cats, and had about 18 of them. Being a cat fancier myself, I was overjoyed.

Martha didn't commit herself on any course of action for me, but she suggested I contact her husband—

and I may skip a line here and ad lib, the man that you said was an alcoholic or a drunk.

Mr. MATUSOW. The man, you forced me to say, was that, which I did not want to get into any personalities.

Senator WELKER. I do not care about that.

Mr. MATUSOW. I think the record should be clear on that, sir.

Senator WELKER (reading):

a reporter for the Dayton Journal Herald. I did so the following day.

I went into Dayton, where I met Ed at his office, a tall, thin, graying man with strong features; he worked on the financial page of the paper, and carried himself in such a way as to fit his type of reporting. After meeting with Ed's approval, I was invited to their home in Waynesville, Ohio, a small town 18 miles from Dayton. Their home was a 2-story log cabin on a 7-acre tract of land. The house reflected the folk traditions of the area and had a quiet serenity. I needed it at that time.

The Edmistons took me in as a friend. I learned much from Ed and Martha which I used to great advantage in the role of professional ex-Communist. Ed and Martha had the experience, having been witnesses.

Both were experts on public relations, for they were both professional newspaper people. They suggested contacting Donald T. Appell, an investigator for the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Appell was a friend of theirs and had worked closely with them in preparation of their testimony before the committee.

I agreed with this course of action. If successful, it would get me off the hot seat in the Air Force and make life a bit easier, I thought. Prior to calling Appell, Ed and Martha went over my story with a fine-toothed comb. They immediately saw what I had missed—the importance of youth in relation to communism. This phase of committee hearings, they pointed out, had been completely overlooked. It seemed that in my naivete, I had underestimated my importance as a witness.

This phase of preparation, in my mind, was for the sole purpose of clearing my name so that I could be an average GI. As it developed, other connotations were read into it, and more grandiose plans were set forth.

The first part of my preparation dealt with teaching me the "full importance" of what I had to say to the committee's investigator, so that I would be assured of a hearing in Washington.

Appell didn't take long in arriving from Washington. When he came, he threw the base into near turmoil. His appearance coincided with another congressional investigation of the base, one which pertained to procurement; and a congressional investigator was feared and respected. Appell had no trouble in getting the base to release me from all assignments, so that I might spend time with him and relate my story.

Appell made arrangements to have an Air Force chauffeur-driven limousine shuttle me between the base and his hotel in downtown Dayton, where the interview took place. As the car arrived, I wondered what Appell would be like. I

had heard about congressional investigators, but had no idea what his attitude would be. Would he take the approach that the Air Force had or would he be sympathetic? My question was soon answered.

Don Appell was in his midthirties, tall, and good looking. When I arrived at his hotel room he surprised me by saying, "Let's get down to business later." He then invited me to the hotel bar where we had a few drinks and watched the last game of the 1951 World Series on television. Between innings we talked of communism in general, and of what, if anything, I could add to the committee's files. We were soon joined by the Edmistons and adjourned to a restaurant for dinner. During the meal the Edmistons helped to build me up with Appell.

As the Edmistons departed for their home in Waynesville, Appell suggested we go to his room and get down to business. It didn't take him long to conclude that I would make a competent witness for the committee. He convinced me of this by serving a subpoena upon me, which I eagerly accepted.

I could hardly wait to break the news to Ed and Martha. Like a little boy running home with an A on his report card crying, "Mommy, Mommy, see what I got?" And everybody saw what I had. It was a bona fide subpoena which entitled me to thumb my nose at the Air Force investigators. I had the power of Congress behind me. The subpoena and my reaction to it proved that I was ready to be the "committee's kind of a witness."

The lack of trust the Air Force had shown me was the straw that broke the camel's back in justifying my role as a witness.

At no time during the period of my reporting to the FBI and the first few months of my service in the Air Force did I think that I would ever be an eager witness. In fact, I had stated on more than one occasion that I would never testify. I was wrong. The Air Force had forced me, with my back to the wall, to a point where I was ready to crucify anyone publicly in order to get myself away from that bleak wall of insecurity.

After Appell returned to Washington I started preparing my report on communism and youth. It implicated teachers, students, Boy Scouts, union people, minorities, majorities—just about anyone or anything that came to mind that I could place the Red label upon.

I didn't fully comprehend what it was to be a witness. I didn't understand the meaning of courtroom procedure and evidence as opposed to hearsay and opinionated evidence. I didn't know how I should react to a committee of Congress. I had to learn to separate the sheep from the goats. But I had two keenly experienced teachers—former FBI informers, past witnesses, both newspaper people, and one of them an attorney.

This was a combination of qualified teachers and an overeager student. It was bound to make headlines, and we knew it. I was told how to get the best press. The Edmistons told me not to mention names unless I could substantiate them in 1 of 3 ways—having been at a Communist Party meeting with them, having carried out a Communist function with them, or having had them identified to me as Communist by a Communist leader. This last point was the one that opened the hole in the line for me and left the way open for the innuendo, the half-truth, and erroneous information.

At the time that you wrote that—at the time that you thought that—in 1951, the Edmistons were not such terrible people, were they?

Mr. MATUSOW. You are talking about at the time I wrote it and then you said in 1951. I don't know which.

Senator WELKER. I will say in 1951 they were not such terrible people—they took you in—they took you in—they believed you?

Mr. MATUSOW. Look, sir, I did not want to get into a personality thing here. I have a great deal of—I had a great deal and still do, fondness for Mrs. Edmiston, and basically Mr. Edmiston, but I did not like his attitude when he started to get drunk. That is all.

Senator WELKER. I am sure of that. We will have some evidence on that, too.

Do you want to tell this committee that a man who was the financial reporter of a famous daily paper could be a drunk, a chronic drunk, as you have so testified here, and keep his position?

Mr. MATUSOW. He did not keep his position. He left the paper.

Senator WELKER. He left the paper?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think you will read that in the next chapter of the book. You did not get to it.

Senator WELKER. What is he doing now?

Mr. MATUSOW. I haven't the slightest idea. I hope he is cured—stopped drinking. Sir, you are the one that forced that issue—of forcing a lot of extraneous issues.

Senator WELKER. You bet—I will force it as long as you sit here and smear people who were kind to you, sir.

Mr. MATUSOW. You are the one that did it, sir, not I—you forced it.

Senator WELKER. No; you are the man that started maligning the Edmestons, and I thought that I would read a chapter out of your very famous book—in your mind—"False Witness."

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I was not trying to malign them in that book. It is quite apparent that I was trying to treat them easily and not malign people in the book, but you as a committee member have forced me to say things which were not in good taste which I wouldn't have said. It is a question of good and bad taste. I tried to use good taste in that book of mine.

Senator WELKER. Then you lied when you wrote the paragraphs in that book about them?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir, just left certain things out which were not in good taste.

Senator WELKER. You left them out.

Mr. MATUSOW. I was not smearing people in that book, as you say I am doing now, but the smearing is your responsibility, Senator.

Senator WELKER. All right—shift it over to me.

Mr. MATUSOW. I definitely do. You have been trying to sidetrack the issues of this hearing.

Senator WELKER. But you are the man who started the slamming and banging at the Edmestons. And counsel took you on with respect to a letter which was a kindly one written by you.

Mr. MATUSOW. Why does not counsel bring in my diary of my period which states the facts? He could have gotten it as well as other documents from Judge Dimock's court.

Senator WELKER. If you will allow me to make an observation, I would not believe your diary if you stood on 18 Bibles. Now that is a harsh accusation, but in view of—

Mr. MATUSOW. Coming from you, it is not.

Senator WELKER. Where you took the religious vow—you wanted to tell the truth, and then you maligned those people who were kind to you—that is hard for me to swallow, sir.

That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you join the American Veterans Committee?

Mr. MATUSOW. The American Veterans Committee? I seem to recall becoming a member at one time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you remember stating that you became a member of AVC for voting only?

Mr. MATUSOW. I do not recall stating that. It is possible I could have said that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you become a member of AVC but for voting only?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have no recollections of it now, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you refer to AVC as a Communist or Communist-front organization?

Mr. MATUSOW. I could have.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is it?

Mr. MATUSOW. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you still a member of the American Veterans Committee?

Mr. MATUSOW. No; I am not, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. When did you leave?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you give the American Veterans Committee a power of attorney when you were seeking disability compensation from the Veterans' Administration?

Mr. MATUSOW. It is very possible, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that power of attorney still in force?

Mr. MATUSOW. I haven't the slightest idea, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, do you know or did you know a Ben Bordofsky?

Mr. MATUSOW. I did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is he connected with the Wholesale Book Corp.?

Mr. MATUSOW. He was at one time connected with it.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss with him the question of what literature to push in a Communist bookshop?

Mr. MATUSOW. Might have; it is possible.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you stated that you did?

Mr. MATUSOW. I probably did.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it a lie when you so stated?

Mr. MATUSOW. If the statement said I discussed Communist literature with Mr. Bordofsky in that broad sense, yes, I discussed Communist literature with him. That is the truth.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was: Did you discuss with him the question of what literature to push in the Communist bookshop.

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, in a broad sense, sir, I might have; I might not have. I'd like to see the testimony before I say I did say this or did not say this.

Mr. SOURWINE. Then I asked you if in fact you discussed with him the question of what literature to push in a Communist bookshop.

Mr. MATUSOW. I possibly could have discussed such matters with him.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was Mr. Bordofsky a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MATUSOW. To my knowledge, he was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he hold an official position in the party?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, he was head of Wholesale Book Corp.

Mr. SOURWINE. What was his official position in the party?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he have anything to do with the decision or the transmission of the decision as to what literature should be pushed in Communist bookstores?

Mr. MATUSOW. He could have.

Mr. SOURWINE. How do those answers, Mr. Matusow, jibe with your previous testimony that you never discussed with anybody, never had any instructions from anybody, as to the question of what literature to push in the Communist bookstores?



Mr. MATUSOW. Well, I say I could have had such discussions with him. I didn't answer your question. I don't know what my previous testimony is.

Mr. SOURWINE. Are you now saying that you could have had such discussions in spite of previously testifying that you did not have such discussions?

Mr. MATUSOW. I could have and—or, I could not have, I don't know—I don't remember at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow, did you in the fall of 1952 talk with a lawyer or lawyers representing Time magazine?

Mr. MATUSOW. In the fall of 1952?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe so; a Mr. Doud.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was that in connection with your charge made against Time magazine?

Mr. MATUSOW. Yes, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Have you stated at a press conference, called by you or arranged by your publishers, that the idea of your charging that there were Communists on the staff of Time magazine was cooked up between you and Senator McCarthy on Labor Day, 1952?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't think that is the correct substance.

Mr. SOURWINE. What is it?

Mr. MATUSOW. I said I discussed that matter with Senator McCarthy on or about Labor Day of 1952.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you seek or intend to give at that press conference the information or the suggestion that that was the first time that your naming of Communists on Time magazine had ever come to your mind?

Mr. MATUSOW. I believe my—the impression I intended to leave was the impression I just left with this committee, that I discussed it with Senator McCarthy—that is all the extent of the discussion.

Mr. SOURWINE. As a matter of fact, was that the first time that you had discussed that matter with anyone?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't recall at this time.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did not you, as a matter of fact, discuss that matter much earlier with representatives of Time magazine?

Mr. MATUSOW. Pardon me, sir; much earlier with representatives of Time magazine?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Mr. MATUSOW. Oh, I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you discussed it much earlier than Labor Day, 1952, with anyone?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think I discussed it with representatives of Time magazine—just to finish the other answer—some time in early 1953, or late 1952, but had I discussed it with anyone, I don't recall; I could have.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you know that you discussed it with a Mr. Callas?

Mr. MATUSOW. Very possible that I discussed it with Mr. Callas, but I think it was after Labor Day.

Mr. SOURWINE. Will you state that it was?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think it was; possibly it was not.

Mr. SOURWINE. Don't you know that it was long before Labor Day?

Mr. MATUSOW. Don't know one way or another.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever discuss with Mr. John McTernan the matter of your statements about Communists on the staff of Life magazine?

Mr. MATUSOW. John McTernan; no, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever contacted at any time by anyone who asked you to change your testimony?

Mr. MATUSOW. I don't get your question.

Mr. SOURWINE. At any time?

Mr. MATUSOW. Well, when I talked to the people at Time magazine, Mr. McTernan—

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATUSOW. I think I was answering your question, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. The question was whether you had ever been contacted at any time by anyone who asked you to change your testimony.

Mr. MATUSOW. If by that you mean when I was in contact with the attorneys from Time magazine, they wanted to know if my testimony was true or false, in that sense; yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. How about testimony in court; were you ever asked by anyone to change testimony you had given in court?

Mr. MATUSOW. I think you asked me that the other day, if I wanted to correct the record. In that sense, yes, too, but also I volunteer to change testimony which was false, where I gave an affidavit to Mr. Witt in behalf of his client Jencks, and the other affidavit.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you had testified against Jencks, did anyone come to you and ask you to change your testimony?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; only in the sense that I volunteer to change and correct false statements, but other than that, none.

Mr. SOURWINE. After you had testified against the second string Communist leaders did anyone ever ask you to change your testimony?

Mr. MATUSOW. No. In the same respect only that I volunteered to correct false statements.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever contacted directly by the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever receive any money from them, directly or indirectly?

Mr. MATUSOW. I have been informed by my publishers and by the committee in the last few weeks that the Mine, Mill Union has purchased some books—some of my books—and therefore, I have received some of their money indirectly through my publishers.

Mr. SOURWINE. Other than that, you have never received any money from that union?

Mr. MATUSOW. No, sir; not to my knowledge.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did the Farmers Union ever buy a retraction from you?

Mr. MATUSOW. As I say, I was under the impression that the Farmers Union was interested in publishing that section of my book that dealt with the Farmers Union but, as far as I know, no negotiations have ever been entered into.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess now until 10 o'clock Saturday morning.

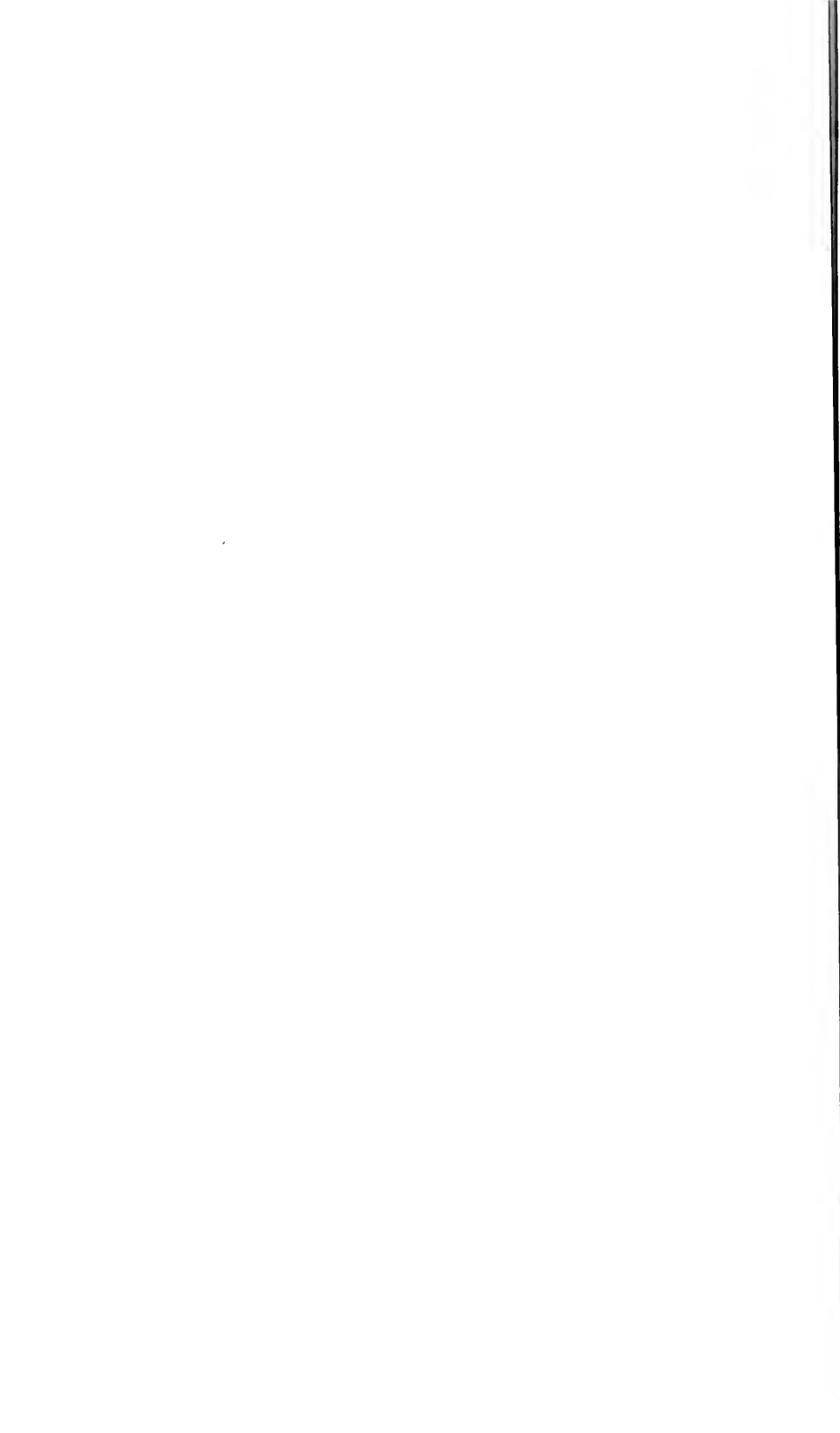
Mr. Matusow, I am retaining you under subpoena. If we need you further, you will be notified in plenty of time. I know that you have to be in Texas next week.

Mr. MATUSOW. All right, sir.

Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, at 5:20 p. m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Saturday, March 5, 1955.)

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# STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MATUSOW CASE

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## HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY  
ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS

OF THE

Congress.  
watch.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

PURSUANT TO

**S. Res. 58**

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MARCH 7, 1955

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**PART 6**

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BENJAMIN MANDEL, *Director of Research*

# STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF WORLD COMMUNISM

MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1955

UNITED STATES SENATE, SUBCOMMITTEE TO  
INVESTIGATE THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL  
SECURITY ACT AND OTHER INTERNAL SECURITY LAWS,  
OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to recess, at 2:10 p.m. in room 318, Senate Office Building, Senator James O. Eastland (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senators Eastland, McClellan, Daniel, Jenner and Welker.  
Also present: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Alva C. Carpenter, associate counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; and Robert C. McManus, professional staff member.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Call Mr. Kahn. Step forward, Mr. Kahn.

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the Senate of the United States is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. KAHN. I do, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

Take your pictures, gentlemen, so we can proceed.

Please state your full name and address.

## TESTIMONY OF ALBERT E. KAHN, ACCOMPANIED BY STANLEY FAULKNER, HIS ATTORNEY

Mr. KAHN. Albert E. Kahn, Glengary, Croton-on-the-Hudson, N. Y.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your business, Mr. Kahn?

Mr. KAHN. I am an author and a publisher.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I believe you state that you are the most widely read American author; is that correct, sir?

Mr. KAHN. No; that is not correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the facts, then? What is your statement?

Mr. KAHN. I believe it would be accurate to say that as far as translations of my works throughout the world, I am perhaps the most widely read nonfiction writer in United States today, abroad.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; that is a foreign audience. What is the name of your publishing firm?

Mr. KAHN. I might add one other thing on the previous question, if I may, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. My books also, as far as this country is concerned, have been best sellers here. "Sabotage," was, I think, the second or third best seller during the World War years.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; you wrote a book called The Great Conspiracy, did you not?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, that is one of the five books I wrote, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you know that Great Conspiracy was required reading for American prisoners of war who were in Communist prison camps in Korea, and it was part of the brainwashing process that they had to endure?

Mr. KAHN. It seems to me there are several questions there, Senator, one relating to whether or not I knew the book was read there.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to answer my question. Was it required reading for American prisoners of war?

Mr. KAHN. I have no way of knowing that, Senator. I was not there.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't that your understanding, sir?

Mr. KAHN. No. I believe another book of mine was read there. I didn't know the Great Conspiracy was read.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, what book was that that was read there?

Mr. KAHN. I saw a newspaper report to the effect that High Treason was read there.

The CHAIRMAN. Who wrote High Treason?

Mr. KAHN. I wrote High Treason.

The CHAIRMAN. It was part of the brainwashing process, wasn't it?

Mr. KAHN. That phrase is somewhat obscure to me. Perhaps you would explain it, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Repeat the answer. I didn't hear you.

Mr. KAHN. I say that phrase is somewhat obscure to me. Perhaps you would explain its meaning.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, Mr. Kahn, you know the meaning. Was it required reading by the Communists for American prisoners in their hands? Wasn't it?

Mr. KAHN. You are telling me that, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I have asked you the question.

Mr. KAHN. I answered that question, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the answer?

Mr. KAHN. The answer is that I did not know.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you understood about it?

Mr. KAHN. I beg your pardon, Senator; would you repeat the question?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Counsel, I will ask you to read the witness some testimony there for his comment.

Mr. SOURWINE. This is testimony concerning the activities of United States citizens in Red China before this committee, taken last year. The witness was a captain who had been a prisoner in several Japanese prisoner-of-war camps—several Korean prisoner-of-war camps in North Korea. There was discussion on pages 1962 and 1963 concerning the forced indoctrination of American prisoners of war in those camps. Captain Manto commented:

As a matter of fact, it was more than one time that prisoners in my compound remarked that they would like to get their hands on this particular gentleman, Mr. Powell.



We were given various magazines and publications to study, that is to mean, they were forced on us. The Chinese commissars, political instructors, would bring them down to the squads, and they had to be read by one of our people. We were forced. It was a formation. The squad had to be present, physically present in the squad room, in order to hear this article, whichever it may be, or whatever one was to be read that day, and it was a formation. Everyone had to be physically present.

I see quite a few magazines here and books that I recall that we had over there.

Mr. Carpenter, counsel for the committee then, asked :

Will you please identify them and name them ?

Captain MANTO. I don't see this China Monthly Review here, sir. However, we have the People's China, China Reconstruction.

And this one I always get a great kick out of, sir, because to me it has a "dilly-whanger" of a headline, "For a Lasting Peace for a People's Democracy."

Political Affairs, Masses and Mainstream, this Deutsche Demokratische Republik.

This is a typical example of their magazines. One of their leaders, I think, was the President of the Eastern German Republic at the time.

New Times, more Masses and Mainstream.

Then we had the books by Foster, Fast, George Marion, Kahn, this Monica Felton.

That is why I make reference to her trip to Korea, visiting the bombed-out towns, the American aviators indiscriminately bombing women and children.

She never mentioned the fact that no matter where you went in North Korea, buildings were occupied by Chinese or North Korean troops.

Thunder Out of China; this Bases and Umpires, we got a great big kick out of that.

China Fights Back.

This is by Howard Fast. Citizen Tom Paine.

Outline of the Political History of the Americas, by Foster.

The American, by Howard Fast; The Titan, by Theodore Dreiser; Twilight of World Capitalism, by Foster; The Great Conspiracy, by Michael Sayres and Albert E. Kahn; various other books and publications I cannot recall.

Mr. CARPENTER. But that was all "must" reading?

Captain MANTO. They were "must."

The CHAIRMAN. Now answer my question. Did you know that your book, The Great Conspiracy, was required reading of American prisoners by the Communists in Korea.

Mr. KAHN. This is the first time, Senator Eastland, that I have heard that. I would like to say, Senator Eastland, that—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute, sir. Wait just a minute.

Mr. KAHN. Do I have the same privilege, Senator, you gave me before the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, sir. I am going to give you a chance to explain.

Mr. KAHN. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You mentioned your book, High Treason.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is it your testimony that you knew High Treason was required reading?

Mr. KAHN. No, Senator, that is not my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. What are the facts about that now?

Mr. KAHN. My testimony was, Senator—I think the record will bear this out—that I said I had read in a newspaper report that High Treason was read in North Korea in these camps to which you refer. I also said that I did not know until this moment that the Great Conspiracy had been read.

Now, I would like to make a comment, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, but you did know that the Communist required American prisoners in their hands to read your book, *High Treason*?

Mr. KAHN. I said I read that in a newspaper, Senator, and now I would like to make a comment.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir, you make a comment.

Mr. KAHN. My comment, Senator, is this: that during the executive sessions this committee displayed what I thought was very considerable courtesy toward me, and stressed the fact that any witness appearing before the committee would be treated, as was the principle and practice of this committee, with fairness and impartiality and would be permitted to make comment when the witness thought it was necessary.

I merely wanted to ask first—and I assume the answer is in the affirmative—whether or not that privilege extends also in public.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kahn, the policy of the committee, both in public hearings and in executive sessions, is this:

When you are asked a question you must answer the question “yes” or “no” if it bears such an answer, and then you will be given a chance to explain your answer. That holds good for all witnesses.

I desire to ask you this question—

Mr. KAHN. Now I would like to make my comment, Senator, since you have given me that privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. KAHN. The comment I want to make on this particular matter is that the *Great Conspiracy* was a book which was very widely published, was published and very widely read in the United States, a book to which Senator Claude Pepper wrote the introduction, and I believe had a circulation of more than a quarter of a million here.

I think it important for the committee to recognize the fact that this book was not merely read elsewhere in the world but also read widely in the United States and, according to *Barron's Financial Weekly*, was a book that was stimulating and informative reading, and according to *Newsweek* magazine, a book extremely worth reading.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what countries do you get royalties from for your books?

Mr. KAHN. I receive royalties on my writings and books from, I would say, 25 or 30 countries, including the list which I gave you; that is, Japan, Italy, France—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who in Japan?

Mr. KAHN. I think the title, the name of the publisher, is one that I would like to have my memory refreshed on. You have the list there, don't you? I have a duplicate list here, by the way.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Mr. KAHN. I could find that. Perhaps I should go down the list as I have it, and then we will get to Japan.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, sir.

Mr. KAHN. In Australia, the Current Book Distributors; in Argentina, Editorial Lautaro; in Stockholm, Sweden—perhaps one of the Senators or Mr. Sourwine would pronounce that name. It is a little difficult for me. It is Swedish. It looks like *Forlagsaktiebolaget Arbetarkultur*. My pronunciation may be wrong.

In London, Collett, Ltd.; in Hungary, Saikra Publishing Co., Ltd.; in Holland, again I really don't know how to pronounce it, Senator Eastland, but you have it there.

The Czechoslovakian publisher I can't pronounce. The one in Brazil is Editera Brasiliense, Ltda.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in the Soviet Union?

Mr. KAHN. We haven't got to it yet, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. KAHN. Havana, Cuba, Editorial Paginas; Svoboda in Czechoslovakia; Falken Forlag A/S, in Norway; Editura Fantasio in Rumania; Editions Hier et Aujourd'hui, in Paris; the National Book Agency in Calcutta, India; Empresa de Publicidade Seara Nova, in Lisbon; J. H. Schultz Forlag, in Denmark; Giulio Einaudi Editore, in Italy; Athenaeum Publishers, in Hungary; Verlag Volk und Welt, in Germany; Magyar Konyvtar, in Czechoslovakia; Nauka-Sha Publishing Co., in Tokyo, Japan; Les Editeurs Francais Reunis, in Paris; Kansan Kulttuuri O. Y. Simonk, in Helsinki, Finland; Foreign Literature Publications, in Moscow, U. S. S. R.; Chikuma Shobo Publishing Co., in Japan; Publishing House of the National Council of the Fatherland Front in Bulgaria; Giulio Einaudi Editore, in Italy; and Nauka-Sha, Ltd., in Tokyo, Japan.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you make available to the committee the number of copies of these books that have been sold in each one of these countries?

Mr. KAHN. Could I, or did I?

The CHAIRMAN. Could you?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, with a comment. May I make a comment?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. I would like to have them back, as I value them, and have very few copies. I would be glad to make them available.

The CHAIRMAN. Information as the number of copies sold in the Soviet Union, number of copies sold in other countries.

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I believe that could be done. It would take a while, because they sold in the millions, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Well, I want to get that information. Now I will ask you this question:

Are you now a member of the Communist Party, USA.?

Mr. KAHN. I would decline to answer that question, Senator, on the grounds of the first amendment and on the grounds of the fifth amendment, and would like to make a comment.

The CHAIRMAN. We don't recognize the first amendment.

Mr. KAHN. Well, I recognize the first amendment, Senator Eastland, even if the committee doesn't.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but for the purpose of declining to answer, that is not a valid ground. If you are going to rest on the first amendment, I order you to answer the question.

Mr. KAHN. I decline to answer, then, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KAHN. And I would like to make a comment.

The CHAIRMAN. Go ahead.

Mr. KAHN. My comment is this: that I do not decline to answer this question with any shame whatsoever.

I might say that I proudly decline to answer it on the grounds of the fifth amendment, which I regard as an amendment protecting the rights of the innocent as well as the rights of the guilty, and it is my understanding that the wording does not include anything about incrimination, but protects any American citizen from bearing witness against himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. I understand that many people have been attacked for using the fifth amendment. I would simply say this. Senator: that he who attacks me for using the fifth amendment does not slander me but slanders the Constitution of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, that is the ground that Communists use when they don't want to state whether or not they are a Communist.

Mr. KAHN. You mean, only Communists use the Constitution?

The CHAIRMAN. I said that is the ground that Communists use. Now, answer this question:

Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, USA?

Mr. KAHN. I would decline to answer that question on the same grounds and would like to make a comment, and my comment is this—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute. You have declined to answer the question and you have made the comment.

Mr. KAHN. Not on the declination to the second question, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute.

Do you know Mr. Herb Tank?

Mr. KAHN. Senator Eastland—

The CHAIRMAN. Answer my question, please.

Mr. KAHN. You said I would have the privilege of making comments.

The CHAIRMAN. I let you make a comment.

Mr. KAHN. But on the previous question.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. You declined to answer on the ground of the fifth amendment.

Mr. KAHN. But you said I could make a comment, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. I said you could make a comment on questions you answered yes or no. When they bore a yes or no answer, you would be given the privilege of explaining your yes or no answer.

Mr. KAHN. Because of the fairness of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, just answer my question. Do you know Mr. Herb Tank?

Mr. KAHN. All right: I refuse to make a comment then on the previous question. The answer to this question is I do know Mr. Herb Tank.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir. How long have you known Mr. Tank?

Mr. KAHN. I have known Mr. Tank for several years, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What is Mr. Tank's business?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Tank is a free-lance writer, author, and playwright.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how many years did you say you had known him?

Mr. KAHN. Several years, I would say, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Five?

Mr. KAHN. I really couldn't say exactly how many years, Senator. The CHAIRMAN. Did you introduce Mr. Tank to Mr. Harvey Matusow?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I introduced Mr. Tank to Mr. Matusow.

The CHAIRMAN. When and where was that?

Mr. KAHN. It was, in time—I can't recall the exact date. I would say it was in December of last year.

The CHAIRMAN. December of 1954?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did you suggest that—was it that Mr. Tank accompany Mr. Matusow where he went?

Mr. KAHN. I suggested that. I may have used a different phrase, but that was the implication, certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Now, up until 2 weeks ago what percentage of the time was Mr. Tank with Mr. Matusow?

Mr. KAHN. Well, of course, I was not there, but it was my belief that he was with him most of the time. I wanted him with him—I didn't want Mr. Matusow left alone.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. And, of course, some of the time others were with him. He didn't have to be there when I was with him, or, let us say, when Mr. Cameron was with him, or perhaps when he was at my house, but I didn't want him alone.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Tank spent most of the nights with Mr. Matusow, did he not?

Mr. KAHN. That was my understanding.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator WELKER. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. Well, now, Mr. Kahn, you know it to be a fact that he did spend most of the nights with him, don't you?

Mr. KAHN. I believe so. I have read in the newspapers there were some nights that he didn't spend with him, but I was unaware of that until I read it.

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't your testimony a week ago last Saturday that for 30 days before, Mr. Tank had spent 22 nights with Mr. Matusow?

Mr. KAHN. No. I think you must be referring to someone else's testimony. I never referred to the number of nights and I don't know what you mean by 30 days. Thirty days before what?

The CHAIRMAN. They say that was Mr. Tank's testimony; I am sorry.

Now, is the firm of Cameron & Kahn a corporation or a partnership?

Mr. KAHN. It is a corporation.

The CHAIRMAN. Who are the stockholders?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Cameron, myself, and Sheila Cameron, as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. How was that firm financed?

Mr. KAHN. The firm was financed in several ways. As with most publishing firms, there was an income from books which were sold, and this helped us conduct our business.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that was royalties on books which you sold?

Mr. KAHN. No; royalties don't go to the publisher, they go to the author.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I want to understand, sir.

Mr. KAHN. So the royalties on the books we sold went to the authors of the books who wrote them.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KAHN. However, publishers are supposedly in business to make a profit, and on such books as made a profit, the profits went to the publishers. So the moneys that were received for the books sold was one of the ways in which the operation was financed.

Then, in addition, as I informed the committee previously, we borrowed funds for the purpose of continuing our operations.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you made profits on books sold. Did you get orders from any organizations for books before those books were published?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, we did, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, what organizations were those?

Mr. KAHN. We received orders, advance orders, for books from several trade unions.

The CHAIRMAN. What were those trade unions?

Mr. KAHN. Including the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, the Fur Workers Union. Those are some of the unions.

The CHAIRMAN. What other unions, sir?

Mr. KAHN. Those are the ones that I recall at the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall the others?

Mr. KAHN. Not at the moment; no.

I would like to make a comment, by the way. Well, no, I will reserve that.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. KAHN. No, I will reserve the comment.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Now, part of the system of financing the firm was orders from these unions for books before they were published; is that true? Is that correct, sir?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir.

Now, how much money did you get from each of those unions?

Mr. KAHN. Well, on orders for 2 books which I recall there was an advance payment for 20,000 copies, 10,000 of each book, an advance payment at the wholesale price of 50 cents—they were in the paper editions, these books—from the United Electrical Workers, and 20,000 copies at 50 cents would be \$5,000 on each of 2 books.

From the furriers, I believe, and I am speaking from memory, there was an order on 1 book for 2,000 copies, which would amount to an advance order of \$1,000, 50 cents a book.

From mine, mill there was an advance order on Matusow's book for 2,000 copies, which amounted to \$1,000, the first advance order. That was subsequently increased to \$1,250, that is for 2,500 books, and finally, after some effort on my part to get the order up to 10,000, I managed to get it up to, I believe, around 6,700 books, which would be about, well, half of that, at 50 cents a book.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you testified that you got money that way from the fur workers union. Who handled the negotiations and who made the trade with you? Who were representing the fur workers union?

Mr. KAHN. I would have to consult our records on that, Senator Eastland. I believe the orders were placed by what is called the joint board of the fur workers union—came directly from the joint board. I would have to see who signed the order.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether it came from Mr. Ben Gold or not?

Mr. KAHN. I know that neither the order nor the payment came from Mr. Ben Gold.

The CHAIRMAN. Who were the individuals now that you stated you borrowed money from? Who were those individuals, sir?

Mr. KAHN. I gave you the list of those names, Senator, and when I gave them to you I made a point of suggesting that these names, since they were the names of small-business men, be held by the committee, and if the committee thought that it was important to make these names public and thereby possibly cause some embarrassment to these small-business men, the committee should so proceed. You said you would take that under consideration.

The CHAIRMAN. We have done that, sir.

Mr. KAHN. And you feel that this is germane to whether or not Matusow lied or told the truth when he appeared before this committee?

The CHAIRMAN. We think it is material as to whose—

Mr. KAHN. All right, Senator; then, under protest, I will mention the name of the small-business men and other individuals who, beginning in 1952 or thereabouts, loaned us some moneys.

There was a Mr. Terman, in Chicago, Ill.; there was—

The CHAIRMAN. That is Mr. Mandel Terman?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct.

There was Mr. Cameron—

Senator DANIEL. What Mr. Cameron?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Angus Cameron.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember Mr. Terman's address in Chicago?

Mr. KAHN. No; I don't have his address here, but we can easily supply you with that.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. KAHN. I remember my address; you have that. I was another one who made a loan.

There was Mr. Abraham Pomerantz in New York; Mr. Henry Supak, Mr. Harry Ragozin.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Supak, where is he from, sir?

Mr. KAHN. Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. Minneapolis, Minn.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Harry Ragozin, New York; Mr. Joseph Starobin, New York; Mr. Elmer R. Segal, Chicago; Mr. Walter Kaplan—

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Starobin a small-business man?

Mr. KAHN. I said when I introduced this list that there were mostly small-business men, and some other individuals. I believe the committee is aware that Mr. Starobin was not a small-business man.

May I read the list and then make a comment?

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Segal, you didn't give his address.

Mr. KAHN. Chicago.

Mr. Walter Kaplan; Mr. S. B. Lewison, Chicago; Miss or Mrs. Esther Mandel, Chicago; Mr. Boris Brail, Chicago; Mr. Edward Rotkin, Croton on Hudson; Mr. Maurice Moguleen, Croton on Hudson; Mr. Paul Milvy, Croton on Hudson; Mr. Ted Ptashne, Minneapolis; Mrs. Sara Gordon, Boston; and the Jero Publishing Co., New York.

And now I would like to make a comment, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, sir.

Mr. KAHN. My comment is this, Senator Eastland: I sat through, as did Mr. Cameron, through quite a few hours of interrogation by Mr. Sourwine in executive sessions. I made a rough estimate of the number of questions that were asked me which related to Matusow and our dealings with Matusow—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Mr. KAHN. And there was 1 out of every 10 had had anything to do with him.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute, sir. We don't propose to be lectured by the witness.

Mr. KAHN. That was merely my comment.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, sir. I would like you to answer these questions.

Mr. KAHN. I would like to have the case investigated.

The CHAIRMAN. I know what the tactics are.

Mr. KAHN. I have nothing to hide, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute, sir.

Senator DANIEL. You want to hide whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party right now, don't you?

Mr. KAHN. I didn't answer that "yes" or "no."

Senator DANIEL. All right. Then are you ready to tell us whether or not you are a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I answered that question. Do you think it is not the privilege of an American citizen to answer it the way I did? Is that what you are saying?

Senator DANIEL. I think it is certainly your privilege.

Mr. KAHN. That is what I have done.

Senator DANIEL. You said under oath you don't want to hide anything. I want to make it quite clear that you do want to hide whether or not you are today a member of the Communist Party, or not; isn't that true?

Mr. KAHN. No; that is not the answer to that question, Senator. I gave the answer to that question. I don't want to hide anything relating to this case, Senator; if you want to give the Communists credit for bringing the facts out in the open, that is your business.

Senator DANIEL. Well, I certainly give the Communists credit for bringing out what Matusow now says the facts are.

Mr. KAHN. And who do you give credit for using him before the committee?

Senator DANIEL. And others who have been publishing pro-Communist books throughout the year, I give full credit for bringing out what Mr. Matusow says today is the truth, and what I doubt as being the truth.

Mr. KAHN. Senator, who gives him credit for his appearance before this committee in the past, the lies he told there?



Senator DANIEL. No, I do not take credit for that.

Mr. KAHN. Or the slanders against your colleagues in the Western States, sir?

Senator DANIEL. I do not take credit for any of that.

Mr. KAHN. Well, who gets credit for that, sir? I didn't know him then. I didn't know him. I am just trying to make public what I know about him.

Senator DANIEL. I will say to you that I think much of the evidence that he gave heretofore was true; it has been checked and corroborated, and before these hearings are over the public is going to know that at least much of the testimony Mr. Matusow has said before us recently and in his book was false——

Mr. KAHN. Are you prejudging——

Senator DANIEL. Just a moment.

Mr. KAHN. I am sorry, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. It is going to be shown that he was telling the truth, then, on much of his testimony, and that he is lying today while under the sponsorship of you and others who will not tell this committee whether or not you are members of the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. Are you prejudging the outcome of this case, Senator? Do you prejudge it?

Senator DANIEL. Mr. Chairman, that is all that I have to say on the subject except that I think maybe the Chair might make it plain to the witness that these comments are in order when they are responsive or have anything to do with responsiveness to the question.

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to hold it that way, Senator Daniel.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Wait. I would like to ask him this question:

Mr. Kahn, you spoke of advance orders and advance payments——

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). To the firm of Cameron & Kahn for certain books. Now, I want you to state whether or not those books were purchased in advance and the moneys paid in advance because of the point of view that those books took.

Mr. KAHN. I cannot answer that question yes or no, Senator. I would have to make not too long an answer, but I would have to answer it without a yes or no answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you did answer it with a yes or no, didn't you?

Mr. KAHN. I don't believe so, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. KAHN. I believe——

The CHAIRMAN. Answer the question.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I will answer it to the best of my ability. The exact content of no single book was ever known by the union which purchased it in advance. I would assume, naturally, that when people buy a book, whether they buy it privately or in large quantities wholesale, they are in sympathy with the point of view expressed.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir, they are in sympathy with the point of view expressed.

Mr. KAHN. Otherwise they would not buy it. That would be my general assumption.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is your general assumption as to the sale of your book in the Soviet Union; is that correct?

Mr. KAHN. My general assumption as to the sale of my book in the Soviet Union is that there are many Russian citizens who apparently, like many American citizens, like to read my books; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. It was the point of view that your book took.

Mr. KAHN. Yes. When I wrote for peace, they published it.

The CHAIRMAN. And that would also be true in your sales in all Iron Curtain countries, would it not?

Mr. KAHN. Well, that phrase was coined by Dr. Goebbels, and I don't use it, but it would be true in the Eastern European countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Now, I want to ask you this question, sir: You know, as a matter of fact, that the publishers who have bought your rights and published your books in the other countries that you have named are extremely leftwing publishers, are they not?

Mr. KAHN. You are talking other than Eastern European countries, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. KAHN. No, that is not my knowledge. I do not know nor ask the politics. The only publisher whose politics I am at all familiar with is that of the largest conservative publisher in France who has bought the rights to the Matusow book, or is in the process of buying them. I would have to get you the name.

The CHAIRMAN. Paris Soir, isn't it?

Mr. KAHN. No; France Soir is the newspaper which is serializing the book, but I am talking about the book rights. I can get you the names.

The CHAIRMAN. What point of view does this French newspaper that is serializing the book—

Mr. KAHN. I am told that France Soir has an anti-Communist point of view, Senator, and do not give the Communists credit for having brought this fact to light.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this money that came from the union as a prepayment on your book, that money came out of dues paid by American workers, didn't it?

Mr. KAHN. I do not know, Senator, where the funds of the various unions come from; if you say that is the case, I suppose you have knowledge of it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you belong to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. KAHN. I do not have that privilege, Senator Eastland.

Senator WELKER. Just a moment. Do you call that a privilege?

Mr. KAHN. I certainly do, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Can you define the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade for the committee?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I would be glad to.

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is made up of that 50 percent of American citizens who went to Spain and did not die there, 50 percent only came back who went to Spain to fight Hitler and Mussolini in Spain. I tried to go, and wish I had been a member of that brigade.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that organization held meetings in your home?

Mr. KAHN. I am proud to say they have, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how many meetings have they held in your home?

Mr. KAHN. Well, there are so many organizations that hold meetings in my home I don't remember the number. I remember fairly recently that we discussed in executive session—

The CHAIRMAN. All right, sir. When was that?

Mr. KAHN. That was a couple of weeks ago. I probably could get the exact date from my wife.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you testified Saturday a week ago and you testified it was a week before that, did you not?

Mr. KAHN. Well, if you have the record you must know. I would say that was within that period, certainly. If I check back, I probably can find out now.

The CHAIRMAN. State whether or not Mr. Matusow was at that meeting.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Matusow was not at that meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. State whether or not Mr. Tank was at that meeting.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Tank was not at that meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you, of course, know that the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive and communistic, do you not?

Mr. KAHN. I know that it was included on that omnibus dictatorial list of the Attorney General.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; as subversive and Communist.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, sir; and a lot of other good organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you state a lot of organizations have had meetings at your home.

Mr. KAHN. Yes. I suppose some of them, too.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would name those organizations.

Mr. KAHN. I would have to check my files, Senator. I can do that for you and give you as many as I can remember.

The CHAIRMAN. You can remember some of those organizations.

Mr. KAHN. Well, that is an assumption. I am not trying to withhold information, but I believe, Senator, I could give it more readily if I checked my files to be sure.

The CHAIRMAN. You were asked that question in executive session and didn't you promise to have that information at this meeting?

Mr. KAHN. I will have to consult my counsel. I try to live up to all my promises. If I have forgotten that one, I will try to do it now.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. KAHN. It is not included with our records, Senator, but if that is your impression, I will certainly secure such a list for you.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now I want the ones that you can remember, sir. The Voice of Freedom Committee, did it meet at your house?

Mr. KAHN. I think we went through this before, and I said quite possibly.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer my question, sir.

Mr. KAHN. I will answer it the way I did then, Senator Eastland. I said quite possibly. It sounds like a good organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Now name the ones that you can remember, sir.

Mr. KAHN. I am not trying to be evasive, Senator Eastland. I don't remember the names at the moment. A lot of organizations met in my home. If you give me a couple of minutes, my wife is here; perhaps she can refresh my memory. Is that permissible?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kahn, you don't have to refresh your memory on some of the organizations. You say a great number have met in your home?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, but I don't want to claim the privilege of having organizations that met there, that didn't meet. If you took that whole list of the Attorney General, probably if you took half of them, they met at my home, but I don't like to get privileged for things that I haven't done; I mean, credit for things I haven't done.

The CHAIRMAN. The organizations that the Attorney General said were subversive and Communist, half of them have held meetings at your home?

Mr. KAHN. Excluding the ones that I would characterize as Fascist.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; Fascist. Have any Fascist organizations met in your home?

(Senator McClellan entered the hearing room.)

Mr. KAHN. No, I said excluding them. I am an anti-Fascist, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I interrogate?

Senator DANIEL. And what was his answer as to the others?

Mr. KAHN. I will give the list, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. But that you wouldn't be surprised but that a half of the others had met in your home?

Mr. KAHN. Not at all surprised, Senator.

Senator WELKER. May I interrogate, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; but I want the names of these organizations.

Mr. KAHN. I will get them, Senator, but I really believe you are laboring under a misapprehension when you think—asked for that.

The CHAIRMAN. I know, but I can't conceive of a man who says "that a great number of organizations have met in my home, that probably half the organizations the Attorney General says are Communist have met in my home," and then not remember but one of them.

Mr. KAHN. Well, I remembered one, Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, so I did remember one.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all you can remember?

Mr. KAHN. If you want to take a few minutes, I probably can think of a few more. Do you want me to?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. KAHN. All right. You mean ones that are listed by the Attorney General; is that it; or any organizations?

The CHAIRMAN. I want the ones listed by the Attorney General.

Mr. KAHN. It will be very helpful to me if I could have that list. If you have that list there, I can go down it, and that would help me. Why don't we do it that way?

Mr. SOURWINE. Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

The CHAIRMAN. He has testified as to that one.

Mr. SOURWINE. Action Committee To Free Spain Now?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that one having met in my home.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Association for Reconstruction in Yugoslavia?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that.

Mr. SOURWINE. American branch of the Federation of Greek Maritime Unions?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that that organization, or representatives of it, may have met in my home.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Christian Nationalist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Committee for European Workers' Relief?

Mr. KAHN. Nor that one.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born?

Mr. KAHN. Very likely.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Committee for Spanish Freedom?

Mr. KAHN. Very likely.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is the Chair satisfied with the answer "very likely"?

The CHAIRMAN. Let him go ahead.

The WITNESS. I am doing my best.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc.?

Mr. KAHN. I have met with them. Whether they have met in my home or not, I am not sure.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, Inc.?

Mr. KAHN. I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Committee To Survey Labor Conditions in Europe?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Council on Soviet Relations?

Mr. KAHN. I have had meetings with them, quite possibly in my home.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Croatian Congress?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recognize that one.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Jewish Labor Council?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that is possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, why is it that you say "probably so," and "I believe that is possible"? Then, on other organizations you are sure they have not met in your home?

Mr. KAHN. The reason I say I believe it is possible, is because I believe it is possible, and the reason I am sure that others didn't is because I am sure they didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. You just can't remember, you just don't want to remember the ones that have met in your home. You want to leave a question about it?

(Senator Jenner entered the hearing room.)

Mr. KAHN. Senator Eastland, you have stressed to me in public that you will be fair to witnesses. Don't tell me that I don't want to remember.

The CHAIRMAN. I am fair to witnesses, but we ask that same thing of witnesses.

Mr. KAHN. Don't tell me I don't want to remember.

The CHAIRMAN. It is certainly strange that a man can say this organization probably met there out of a whole list you decline to name but one that has specifically met there.

Mr. KAHN. I haven't declined.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute, now. And give a date. And then you can specifically remember ones that did not meet there.

Mr. KAHN. Senator Eastland, I offered to give you a complete list, so don't say I have declined. I have not declined.

The CHAIRMAN. Just be frank with us.

Mr. KAHN. All right; I am being frank, Senator Eastland. I want it on the record that I have offered to give you the list.

The CHAIRMAN. Now proceed.

Mr. KAHN. Let's proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. American League Against War and Fascism?

Mr. KAHN. Well, you mean in my present home? I think that organization was dissolved before I moved into my present house, but I had meetings with that organization, and I believe at my home, or let's say, yes, at my home in the past.

Mr. SOURWINE. American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Lithuanian Workers Literary Association?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. American National Labor Party?

Mr. KAHN. Yes—wait; no; I am sorry. You mean, National Labor Party? I think you are a little confused there, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. I read the American National Labor Party. It is an organization on the consolidated list of organizations previously—

Mr. KAHN. No. Will you please correct my answer on that. That organization has not met in my home.

Mr. SOURWINE. American National Socialist League?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Nationalist Party?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Patriots, Inc.

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Peace Crusade?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. KAHN. I believe so.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Poles for Peace?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that one.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Polish Labor Council?

Mr. KAHN. I am not sure as to that one, either.

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Polish League?

Mr. KAHN. No, I don't think so.

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Rescue Ship Mission?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that was dissolved a number of years ago; probably met in a former house of mine, not my present one.

Mr. SOURWINE. Do you recognize that organization as a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I recognized it as such, and I worked with it, I believe.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Russian Fraternal Society?

Mr. KAHN. Would you repeat that?

Mr. SOURWINE. American Russian Fraternal Society.

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall their ever having met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Russian Institute.

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you ever met with them anywhere?

Mr. KAHN. I have been to the American Russian Institute. There are two, aren't there, Senator?

Do you mean the one in New York, Mr. Sourwine?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes, sir.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I have been to the American Russian Institute in New York.

Mr. SOURWINE. Had you met anywhere with the American Russian Fraternal Society?

Mr. KAHN. If that is the name of the branch of the IWO, the answer is "Yes." I just want to be sure. Am I correct; the International Workers Order?

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Russian Institute for Cultural Relations with the Soviet Union?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall their having met in my house, or my having met with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Russian Institute of Philadelphia?

Mr. KAHN. They have never met in my house.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, have you met with them?

Mr. KAHN. I possibly may have lectured for them, Senator, but I don't remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Russian Institute of San Francisco?

Mr. KAHN. I have lectured for them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Russian Institute of Southern California in Los Angeles?

Mr. KAHN. I possibly have lectured for them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Slav Congress?

Mr. KAHN. They have not met in my house, but I believe I have met with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Women for Peace?

Mr. KAHN. It is quite possible that they have met in my house; if not there, I met with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The American Youth Congress?

Mr. KAHN. Very likely.

Mr. SOURWINE. American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. KAHN. Very likely. At my house, or with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Armenian Progressive League of America?

Mr. KAHN. I don't remember that name.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Associated Klans of America?

Mr. KAHN. The Associated Klans of America? No, they never met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Association of Georgia Klans?

Mr. KAHN. No; the Association of Georgia Klans never met in my house, nor I with them; in both cases, the last two.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Association of German Nationals?

Mr. KAHN. No, I don't believe they ever met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Association of Lithuanian Workers?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall their ever meeting in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you ever meet with them?

Mr. KAHN. Not that I recall. I don't remember the name.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Baltimore Forum?

Mr. KAHN. Well, the Baltimore Forum probably met in Baltimore, and I don't recall. I may have spoken for that forum, may have lectured for it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Black Dragon Society?

Mr. KAHN. No. The Black Dragon Society never met in my house, though I did some writing exposing their activities in this country, and I don't think that is called work with them, but against them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee?

Mr. KAHN. Members of that defense committee I have met with either in my house or elsewhere.

Senator WELKER. What was the name of that?

Mr. SOURWINE. The Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt Defense Committee.

The Bulgarian Peoples League of the United States of America?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that name, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Carpatho-Russian People's Society?

Mr. KAHN. That sounds familiar. I don't believe they ever met in my house, but I probably met with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Central Council of American Women of Croatian Descent?

Mr. KAHN. That is the first time I think I have heard that name, or remember hearing it.

Mr. SOURWINE. The National Council of Croatian Women?

Mr. KAHN. They have never met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Central Japanese Association?

Mr. KAHN. No, they have not met in my house, or I with them, as far as I remember.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Cervantes Fraternal Society?

Mr. KAHN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever lectured to them, or you don't remember the name; which?

Mr. KAHN. No, they haven't met in my house. I would remember that name. I am a great admirer of his writings, and I would remember it if they had ever met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The China Welfare Appeal, Inc?

Mr. KAHN. I don't believe so, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Chopin Cultural Center?

Mr. KAHN. Would you repeat that?

Mr. SOURWINE. The Chopin Cultural Center.

Mr. KAHN. I recall no meeting in connection with Chopin in my house.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, have you met with them? If you have lectured to an organization or if you have met with an organization anywhere, we want the information.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I am sure. No, I don't recall meeting with that organization.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Citizens Committee for Harry Bridges?

Mr. KAHN. I don't believe they have ever met in my house, but I am sure I had some meetings with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Citizens Committee of the Upper West Side, New York City?

Mr. KAHN. Well, they probably met on the West Side, not in my house, and I believe that—that sounds familiar. I believe that I met with that society.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder?



Mr. KAHN. I don't believe they ever met in my house, nor do I recall ever meeting with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Citizens Emergency Defense Conference?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that they have. If not, I have met with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Citizens Protective League?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that name.

Mr. SOURWINE. Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, they have had meetings in my house, and I have met with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. Civil Rights Congress for Texas?

Mr. KAHN. No, I don't—they haven't met in my house and, unfortunately, I have been in Texas very little.

Mr. SOURWINE. Veterans Against Discrimination of the Civil Rights Congress of New York?

Mr. KAHN. Will you repeat that?

Mr. SOURWINE. Veterans Against Discrimination of the Civil Rights Congress of New York.

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall their ever meeting in my house, nor my ever meeting with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Columbians?

Mr. KAHN. No, they never met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Comite Coordinator Pro Republica Espanola?

Mr. KAHN. No, I don't recall their ever meeting in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. KAHN. Is Senator McCarthy leaving? I thought he was going to take my seat.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed and answer the question. I don't like cracks like that. You can act smart on the outside. Proceed.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee for a Democratic Far Eastern Policy?

Mr. KAHN. It is quite possible that they met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee for Constitutional and Political Freedom?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall their ever meeting in my house, and I don't recall ever meeting with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee for Nationalist Action?

Mr. KAHN. No, they have not met in my house.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee for the Defense of the Pittsburgh Six?

Mr. KAHN. They have not met in my house. It sounds like an organization with which I have worked.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee for the Negro in the Arts?

Mr. KAHN. I believe they have either met in my house or I have met with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that one.

Mr. SOURWINE. Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange?

Mr. KAHN. No, I don't believe they have met in my house, nor do I recall meeting with them.

Mr. SOURWINE. The Committee to Aid the Fighting South?

Mr. KAHN. I don't think they have met in my house. It is possible I had some meeting with them.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this question, sir: Has the Communist Party had meetings in your home?

Mr. KAHN. I would decline to answer that question, Senator, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in politics, have you not?

Mr. KAHN. I am afraid you might say I have, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Did you ever run for office, Mr. Kahn?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I did, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you a candidate for?

Mr. KAHN. I beg your pardon, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. For what office were you a candidate?

Mr. KAHN. I was a candidate for the Congress, the Congress of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What year was that?

Mr. KAHN. That was 1948.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Did you run on the ticket of any political party?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I ran in the 25th Congressional District of New York, for the American Labor Party, and actually got over 30,000 votes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Now, that party was supporting Mr. Henry Wallace for President?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; that was my impression at the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Sourwine.

Senator DANIEL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask another question along that line? It is the same question that has been asked with respect to these other organizations about which the witness has testified.

Have you ever met with the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Senator, I would have to decline to answer that on the same grounds as I declined to answer the previous question.

Senator DANIEL. Have you ever lectured—

Mr. KAHN. I beg your pardon, Senator; would you repeat the question?

Senator DANIEL. The question was: Have you ever met with the Communist Party or any branch of the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. Will you excuse me?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. KAHN. I want to ask, do you mean have I ever met with the representatives of the Communist Party, with members of the Communist Party, or do you mean, have I ever met with the Communist Party itself?

Senator DANIEL. Well, first, have you met with representatives of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. All right. Now, then, have you ever met in a session of the Communist Party or any of its branches?

Mr. KAHN. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the fifth.

Senator DANIEL. Have you ever met with any Facist group or organization?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Senator DANIEL. You do not decline to answer that.

Mr. KAHN. No, I don't decline to answer that. People aren't put in jail for answering that, you know.

Senator DANIEL. Have you ever lectured to any Communist Party organization or meeting?

Mr. KAHN. Would you excuse me; I just wanted to consult with counsel.

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Senator DANIEL. I want to withdraw the question.

Have you ever lectured before any Fascist group or organization in either an open or closed meeting?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Senator DANIEL. Well, now, have you ever lectured before any Communist Party organization in an open or closed meeting?

Mr. KAHN. Can we split that question into two? Have I ever lectured in an open meeting or have I ever lectured in a closed meeting?

Senator DANIEL. Well, have you ever lectured in a closed meeting of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I would decline to answer on the grounds of the fifth, whether I ever lectured at a closed meeting, and I don't recall whether I ever lectured in an open meeting.

Senator DANIEL. That's all.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask just one question.

You have testified that you were a candidate for Congress in 1948 on the ticket of the American Labor Party?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you if your candidacy for Congress was endorsed by the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. I would have to check my records, Senator, I don't recall.

Senator JENNER. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Senator JENNER. Did you ever march in any May Day parades of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Well, could that question be rephrased? If you stop after "May Day parades," I will answer it because I believe there are many people who are not Communists marching in the parade.

Senator JENNER. Have you ever marched in the May Day parades participated in by the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I will answer that; yes. I have marched in every May Day parade that I could, Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER. Who sponsors the May Day parade?

Mr. KAHN. I believe they have what is called an ad hoc committee which sponsors them.

Senator JENNER. The Communist Party sponsors them?

Mr. KAHN. Well, you have a right to your opinion. I gave my answer.

Senator JENNER. I am asking you. Do they?

Mr. KAHN. You mean, are—

Senator JENNER. Does the Communist Party sponsor the May Day parade?

Mr. KAHN. The Communist Party is among the sponsors, I suppose, of the May Day parade. They participate in it.

Senator JENNER. You know they are one of the sponsors; don't you?

Mr. KAHN. I know they participate in it. I don't know enough of, you know, the technical form. I know they participate in it.

Senator JENNER. All right.

Senator DANIEL. What does the parade celebrate?

Mr. KAHN. Well, the parade celebrates an American victory which was won by American workers, that is, the winning of the 8-hour day.

Senator DANIEL. Is that all that that parade celebrates? Is that all it connotes?

Mr. KAHN. Well, that is its historical background. It was originally started, as I remember, by the American Federation of Labor, Gompers.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Kahn, it is true that you told us that you were a leftwinger; is that a matter of fact true?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that the implication of my remarks and my general conduct would indicate that I could be characterized without injustice, as a leftwinger.

Senator WELKER. Well, now, could you tell us the difference between a leftwinger and a Communist?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; although I don't mean that this applies to me, because there might not be that difference.

Senator WELKER. You just answer the question, and we will get along fine.

Mr. KAHN. All right. Well, I would say, for example, that the Socialists are leftwingers, that persons who want socialism are leftwingers, that many people who fight against monopoly or against private ownership of the means of production or who fight against social injustice are characterized as leftwingers, so I would say that the term "leftwinger" includes many more than the Communists.

Nor, incidentally, would I give leftwingers all of the credit for trying to bring these facts about Matusow into the light. I think that is showing prejudice in favor of the leftwing.

Senator WELKER. Now, going back to Matusow, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed. Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. When did you first meet Harvey Matusow?

Mr. KAHN. I first met Harvey Matusow, to my knowledge, on October the 24th, 1954. Mr. Matusow, however, tells me—

Senator WELKER. I don't care what he told you.

Mr. KAHN. O. K.

Senator WELKER. I am interrogating you, and we will get along fine.

Mr. KAHN. Very well, Senator, I am sure we will.

Senator WELKER. And that was the time that he told you he wanted to write the book False Witness?

Mr. KAHN. Well, he had told me that before we met, Senator.

Senator WELKER. All right. Let's have that time, then.

Mr. KAHN. I am just waiting for the question.

Senator WELKER. I asked you when you first met him.

Mr. KAHN. I told you when I first met him. But he told me it before on the telephone, you see, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Oh, I see. All right. Now let's have the telephone conversation.

Mr. KAHN. Fine. The telephone conversation took place on October the 22d. I had been trying to reach him. He was traveling, I later learned, through Texas and New Mexico. I was trying to reach him by long-distance telephone call and had left a message for him to call me collect. He reached me with a collect telephone call on October the 22d.

Is that the answer to your question?

Senator WELKER. Very fine. And did he tell you then that he had adopted his philosophy?

Mr. KAHN. No; I had read about his discussion with Bishop Oxnam and knew, myself, that he had had some sort of religious experience, as he put it to Bishop Oxnam.

Senator WELKER. Did he tell you that after Bishop Oxnam released a press release to the Washington Star, a very famous newspaper in the Nation's Capital, that he called him in fact, a liar and reiterated everything that he had testified to for all the years prior?

Mr. KAHN. No; he didn't tell me that. I read about that in the newspapers, although a slightly different version.

Senator WELKER. Well, now, when did you read about that, Mr. Kahn?

Mr. KAHN. I read about that when it occurred, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Did you read his testimony after he called Bishop Oxnam a liar?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

(Senator Jenner left the hearing room.)

Senator WELKER. And then when he went before the House Un-American Activities Committee and said that he was more sound, more profound in his answers as to the truth than at any time heretofore, or theretofore?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; I read the testimony that he gave after meeting with Bishop Oxnam. I read it in the Congressional Record of the proceedings.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Well, now, how did you happen to meet Mr. Matusow? You say it was as a result of a telephone call?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Did he tell you what he wanted to do?

Mr. KAHN. I told him what we wanted him to do.

Senator WELKER. You told him what you wanted him to do?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. We wanted him to fly to New York for a conference. That is what I told him.

Senator WELKER. Well, now, did you want him to come to New York for the purpose of telling you about his prior testimony?

Mr. KAHN. No; I wanted him to come to New York for the purpose of discussing a book which Mr. Cameron and I had discussed—that is, my partner, Mr. Cameron and I—which we understood he had previously discussed with a number of publishing firms, including Simon & Schuster and other such publishing houses, and we were interested in the book, and I told him we would like to discuss it with him.

Senator WELKER. And did he tell you over the phone or when he met you, that he was destitute for money?

Mr. KAHN. Whether he told me that or not, it was fairly apparent that he had no money, but destitute, I think, for money, well, I suppose that phrase would cover it.

Senator WELKER. Did he tell you, Mr. Kahn, that he intended to take his life out on the desert of Nevada?

Mr. KAHN. He did not tell me that then, Senator Welker. I did not know that until he wrote it in the book. It is in the book.

Senator WELKER. Yes; I am conscious of that fact.

Now, let's go from Mr. Matusow to Mr. Herbert Tank.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

Senator WELKER. I think you testified, Mr. Kahn, that you, or perhaps your associate, Mr. Cameron, hired Mr. Tank to look after this young chap; is that correct?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I think it would be more correct—may I say exactly what happened?

(Senator Jenner returned to the hearing room.)

Mr. KAHN. I can't quite answer it yes or no.

Senator WELKER. I want you to.

Mr. KAHN. We didn't hire him. We paid his expenses and we paid, I believe, there was 1 week of editorial work he did for which he received a salary, but the balance of the time he received expenses.

Senator WELKER. Now, the editorial work was—

Mr. KAHN. Proofreading.

Senator WELKER (continuing). Was editorial work on Mr. Matusow's book?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, proofreading.

Senator WELKER. Yes, proofreading.

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Senator WELKER. And changes?

Mr. KAHN. I didn't say that. Well, proofreading; of course, if a word is misspelled, it has to be changed to the correct spelling. Yes; that is correct, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Well, I believe there has been some testimony here that certain portions of the statements made by Mr. Matusow had been stricken.

Mr. KAHN. Let me clarify this, Senator.

Mr. Tank had absolutely nothing to do with any editorial changes on this book.

Senator WELKER. Well, now, why did you hire Mr. Tank?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I wanted someone who could fulfill—and by the way, hire—

Senator WELKER. All right; employ, or any word you want to use.

Mr. KAHN. All right. I asked him to perform a certain function, which I thought he could do. It was a triple function. One, we felt the need, I especially felt the need, for someone to be with Mr. Tank most of the time. I thought he needed protection.

Senator WELKER. From whom?

The CHAIRMAN. You mean Mr. Matusow now?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; I didn't think Tank needed protection; I thought Mr. Matusow needed protection.

Well, I remembered that a witness named Andrea Salsedo was kidnaped by the Department of Justice and later killed, thrown out of a window down in a Federal building in New York.

Senator WELKER. Now, that is your sworn testimony under oath, that a witness that you just named had been kidnaped by the Department of Justice and killed by them?

Mr. KAHN. Well, they claimed he fell out of the window, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. All right. Now, I am not asking for any hedging now.

Mr. KAHN. No; I am not hedging. This is a matter of historical record.

Senator WELKER. All right. Do you want at this time the committee to believe that the Department of Justice actually is responsible for the death of this witness heretofore named by you?

Mr. KAHN. I fully believe that, sir.

Senator WELKER. Now, that isn't an answer. Answer it yes or no, sir. Why do you hesitate?

Mr. KAHN. My answer is "Yes." I am not hesitating. I am looking for the historical reference to this incident which occurred during the Palmer age, and is quite famous.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any proof of that now? Let's hear it, if you have some proof.

Mr. KAHN. The only proof is that he was kidnaped, held illegally, according to the findings of—I think, if you check with Louie D. Post's book, he makes detailed reference to the subject. He was then, you will remember, head of the Labor Department of the Government. And according to all of the findings at the time, he was held illegally for a number of weeks and then fell, or was thrown out of this window, I think it was the 14th floor of the Federal Building in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. What you are saying was——

Mr. KAHN. Well, I wasn't there, Senator, that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. Answer my question, please, sir. What you are saying was this: that Mr. Matusow needed protection, that you were afraid he would be kidnaped and murdered, and therefore——

Mr. KAHN. Or one of the two.

The CHAIRMAN (continuing). By the Department of Justice or someone else. Therefore you hired, you employed or hired or used Mr. Herbert Tank as his bodyguard?

Mr. KAHN. I said this was one of three reasons. I might add I also——

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless, let's stay on your first reason.

Mr. KAHN. Fine.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the grounds was he was a bodyguard? Is that true?

Mr. KAHN. I have never hesitated to use that word. I would say I wanted him to perform that function.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Mr. Tank his bodyguard?

Mr. KAHN. So I regard him.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Is he his bodyguard at this time?

Mr. KAHN. No; he is not.

I wanted to make one other point on this first one here. I also was not only apprehensive about what representatives of the Department of Justice might do.

The CHAIRMAN. That is an answer to the first point. I am turning you back to Senator Welker.

Proceed, Senator Welker.

Mr. KAHN. This is an answer to Senator Welker's point. I also want to say I also was apprehensive about what representatives or agents or friends or cohorts or aides of Senator McCarthy might do to this man

when they found out the information he had he was going to divulge about McCarthy.

Senator WELKER. Now I would like to ask you, who was the head of the Department of Justice at the time you said categorically that someone was murdered, the witness heretofore named by you. Who was the head of the Department of Justice?

Mr. KAHN. That must have been Palmer.

Senator WELKER. Who?

Mr. KAHN. It occurred during the Palmer age and it was Attorney General Palmer, P-a-l-m-e-r, quite a notorious case.

Senator WELKER. Now, another reason why you acquired, let us say, Mr. Tank, was that you wanted to protect him against crackpots; is that right?

Mr. KAHN. That wasn't the reason I gave, but I suppose it is a valid one.

Senator WELKER. Well, have you talked with Mr. Tank since he testified here last week?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I have talked with Mr. Tank.

Senator WELKER. Where?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, a number of places. I had meals with him, several meals I believe, seen him at my office.

Senator WELKER. What did you talk about, sir?

Mr. KAHN. Well, that is a pretty embracing question.

Senator WELKER. Well, I want it embracing.

Mr. KAHN. You want an embracing answer, then?

Senator WELKER. You bet I do. I want to know.

Mr. KAHN. All right.

Senator WELKER. Well, I will withdraw that.

Did you talk about his testimony given before this committee?

Mr. KAHN. I am sure we did.

Senator WELKER. Did you talk about your testimony given before this committee?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, yes; no doubt about that. I described in some detail my testimony.

Senator WELKER. And did you have a mutual meeting of minds there?

Mr. KAHN. No, I wouldn't say that. I think there were perhaps areas of disagreement.

Senator WELKER. All right. Well, you told him what to expect in the form of questions from this committee; is that correct?

Mr. KAHN. That wasn't the purpose.

Senator WELKER. I am asking you.

Mr. KAHN. No, I didn't tell him what to expect.

Senator WELKER. Or did he tell you?

Mr. KAHN. No, no, no, he didn't.

Senator WELKER. Just about your appearances before this committee?

Mr. KAHN. I didn't say that. We visited about many things. You asked me if we discussed—

Senator WELKER. All right. With respect to the committee and the questions asked of you and Mr. Tank.

Mr. KAHN. We discussed the committee at length, we discussed the personalities of the Senators, we discussed the questions that were



asked. I said how courteous Senator Eastland had been to me; all sorts of things.

Senator WELKER. And that you met Senator Welker?

Mr. KAHN. No, I didn't. As a matter of fact, I talked about our discussion on children, and that sort of thing. As a matter fact, I mentioned you had a daughter.

Senator WELKER. Now, who paid Mr. Tank for his services?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Tank was paid by Cameron & Kahn, and I advanced the money and I am getting it back from the firm.

Senator WELKER. And first, as I understand it, he received only his expenses for Mr. Matusow, Mr. Tank?

Mr. KAHN. He received—yes, that's correct. He received expenses, and there was 1 week in there, Senator Welker, or 5 or 6 days—I forget exactly how long—during which he received money for work done on the galley, I believe the galleys, proofreading.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, how many copies of his book were published by UE?

Mr. KAHN. Do you mean bought, Senator Eastland, because we are publishing the book.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, by the UE.

Mr. KAHN. You mean bought by the UE?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. I regret to say no copies of Matusow's book have been bought by the UE, as far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. How many have been bought by the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers?

Mr. KAHN. Six thousand seven hundred were ordered in advance, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. How much money did you collect from them?

Mr. KAHN. I think it is \$3,250.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have gotten \$3,250 from the Mine, Mill, and Smelter as an advance for 6,700 copies of the book?

Mr. KAHN. That's correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How much of that money did you pay to Mr. Tank for expenses and editorial work?

Mr. KAHN. My rough estimate is that he received for 4 or 5 weeks' work—I would have to consult the files to be sure—four or five hundred dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. How much did Mr. Matusow receive?

Mr. KAHN. He has received to date within the vicinity of fifteen—sixteen hundred dollars, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers were expelled from the CIO; were they not?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, they were, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was alleged that they were a Communist union?

Mr. KAHN. It was alleged that they were a Communist-dominated union.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what has happened that they have advanced to the firm of Cameron & Kahn \$3,700 on the Matusow book and several hundred dollars of that money has gone to Mr. Tank for his services and an advance of \$1,500 has been paid Mr. Matusow for living expenses while he was writing the book?

Mr. KAHN. Is that a question, Senator?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Well, I am sorry; would you rephrase? I didn't understand the question. I thought it was just a statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you if it was true then that several hundred dollars of the \$3,700 that you received from the Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers were paid Mr. Tank as expenses as a bodyguard, and for editorial work, and the \$1,500 was advanced to Mr. Matusow.

Mr. KAHN. Well, it is very difficult, you know, to earmark, Senator Eastland, exactly which money goes where. I, for example, loaned some sums during this period to the firm, and it is hard to say whether the money that went into Mr. Tank's hands came actually—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, it would be very logical, would it not, that the money that was advanced as an expense of the book—they advanced you \$3,700 to get the book published—they would certainly go for expenses to get it published?

Mr. KAHN. Certainly. There is no question about that.

The CHAIRMAN. That is true. As a matter of fact, then, Mr. Tank and Mr. Matusow have received money from this union, which was expelled by the CIO as Communist, and they have received it through an intermediary, the firm of Cameron & Kahn?

Mr. KAHN. Well, Senator Eastland, that would not be a fair way to put it, because that would just be like saying that any of our authors whose books we publish receive money through an intermediary of the people who buy the books.

Now, they receive money from Cameron & Kahn. They do not receive money from any intermediaries. Mr. Matusow, for example, did not know, when he received money in the beginning, that some of it came from the moneys that had been paid in, advanced by Mine, Mill.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you answered the question exactly. That is exactly what I wanted. You said that Mr. Matusow did not know when he received money that it came from moneys paid Cameron & Kahn by Mine and Mill.

Now, proceed, Senator Welker.

Mr. KAHN. May I make a comment now?

Senator WELKER. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. He can make a comment.

Senator WELKER. All right.

Mr. KAHN. I just wanted to make a comment, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. KAHN. I believe that Mr. Matusow received all of his \$1,500 advance, the last portion of that sum being paid in December, prior to my ever telling him that the Mine, Mill had placed an order for this book and had paid money for it.

I deliberately, and Mr. Cameron deliberately, refrained from letting Mr. Matusow know that this money had been paid in.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Up until that date.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

The question I asked you was whether that money that you paid him came from Mine, Mill?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you answered it.

Mr. KAHN. I would say that most of it did.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, proceed.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Kahn, a moment ago, in response to interrogation by our chairman, you stated that Mr. Tank was an author and an actor; is that correct?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I said he was an author and a playwright, I believe, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. A playwright?

Mr. KAHN. I don't think he is an actor. I think Mr. Matusow has done some acting.

Senator WELKER. I think I will agree with you on that.

Mr. KAHN. But I don't think that Mr. Tank has done the same sort of acting.

Senator WELKER. All right. What is it that Mr. Tank has done—

Mr. KAHN. I say, Mr. Tank is a free-lance writer and a playwright.

Senator WELKER. How many books do you know of your own knowledge that he has written?

Mr. KAHN. I know of no books. I don't believe he has written any. Perhaps he has. I know of no books that he has written.

Senator WELKER. Now, didn't we interrogate you last week about that?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall whether you did or not.

Senator WELKER. Well, maybe I can refresh your memory.

Mr. KAHN. Fine.

Senator WELKER. Did he or did he not write a book called "Communism on the Waterfront"?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, that is not a book, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Well, what is it?

Mr. KAHN. That is a pamphlet, Senator.

Senator WELKER. A pamphlet?

Mr. KAHN. All right.

Senator WELKER. All right, tell us about that.

Mr. KAHN. I never read it. So he will have to tell you about it.

Senator WELKER. You never read it?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Senator WELKER. Now, it is a pamphlet—

Mr. KAHN. I have only read one of his plays. That is all I have read of his.

Senator WELKER. And his plays—

Mr. KAHN. It is called "Longitude 49", a very good play, in my opinion.

Senator WELKER. "Longitude 49"?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator. I would be glad to send you a copy.

Senator WELKER. I will not go into that, because it will take us a great deal of time.

Do you know of your own knowledge whether or not Mr. Tank is now, as of this moment, or has ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. No, I have no knowledge regarding that question, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Did you make any inquiries when you made the arrangement for him to help you out with Mr. Matusow?

Mr. KAHN. As to his political associations?

Senator WELKER. I am not asking you that. I said, whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. Well, that is what I meant. You just said "inquiries". I want to know what sort of inquiries, if you would be specific—

Senator WELKER. Whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. That is a specific question. The answer is "no." I made no such inquiry.

Senator WELKER. You did not think that was necessary?

Mr. KAHN. No, not in the slightest. It was of no importance.

Senator WELKER. What are you reading from, Mr. Witness?

Mr. KAHN. Is this an important matter?

Senator WELKER. Well, yes. I wanted to know, is it one of your own notes?

Mr. KAHN. All right. I would rather read what I am reading.

Senator WELKER. I didn't ask you that. Is it one of your own notes?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. I would like to read it, too.

Senator WELKER. I am asking—

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute.

Senator WELKER. I am asking you, did you prepare that yourself?

Mr. KAHN. All of these notes I prepared myself, most of them last night in the hotel room.

Senator WELKER. I merely asked you what you were reading from, and if it is one of your own prepared notes, you have a perfect right to do that, sir.

Mr. KAHN. Thank you.

Senator WELKER. Now, have you at any time ever attended a meeting with Mr. Tank?

Mr. KAHN. Have I at any time attended a meeting with Mr. Tank?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Why, yes, I testified to that just a few minutes ago here. You mean—

Senator WELKER. All right. I want it again, please.

Mr. KAHN. I said that I have met repeatedly with Mr. Tank.

Senator WELKER. Well, was anyone else present?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, sometimes Mr. Cameron; sometimes Mr. Matusow; sometimes my wife; sometimes my children.

Senator WELKER. Prior to that time, did you have any meeting with him?

Mr. KAHN. Prior to which time?

Senator WELKER. Prior to the time you have testified about.

Mr. KAHN. Well, that time may cover a number of years.

Senator WELKER. Perhaps it has. Have you ever attended a cell meeting with Mr. Tank?

Mr. KAHN. A cell meeting?

Senator WELKER. Yes, a Communist Party cell meeting.

Mr. KAHN. Oh. No I have never attended any cell meeting, Communist Party cell meeting, with Mr. Tank.

Senator WELKER. Do you know what a cell meeting is?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I probably have the same understanding that you do of it.

Senator WELKER. All right. Now, that is not an answer, please. I am trying to get along with you.

Mr. KAHN. Well, I guess I do. I mean, I suppose that is a meeting of a branch—a meeting of the branch of the Communist Party, isn't it?

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Well, I answered that question, Senator.

Senator WELKER. And you say you have never attended one of those meetings with him?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. And have you ever attended any meeting of what you call leftwingers with Mr. Tank?

Mr. KAHN. None that I can recall, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Are you advised or do you know whether or not Mr. Tank has ever taken the fifth amendment when asked whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party, at this time or at any other time?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Tank has told me that he took the fifth amendment, I believe, both before—I believe before the grand jury, and I am sure he told me he took it before this committee.

Senator WELKER. How did that conversation happen to arise?

Mr. KAHN. Well, it arose during that discussion to which you and I made previous reference, when he and I were describing our interrogation with the committee here in the executive session.

Senator WELKER. And you told him, I take it, that you took the fifth amendment, too?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I am quite sure I did, although there was a lot of testimony to cover. I did my best to cover it.

Senator WELKER. But it was quite important—is it not a fact, Mr. Kahn—that you both told each other that you had taken the fifth amendment when interrogated and asked whether or not you were now as of this moment or any time past a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Quite important to whom, Senator Welker?

Senator WELKER. To you and to Mr. Tank.

Mr. KAHN. No; not at all important to me. You will have to ask him. You will have to ask him whether it was important to him, but not to me.

Senator WELKER. Wasn't the fifth amendment important to you?

Mr. KAHN. No. I mentioned that quite casually—it doesn't have that importance—in my discussions at that time.

Senator WELKER. If it does not have much importance, why didn't you answer me?

Mr. KAHN. You didn't hear the whole sentence. I said it doesn't have that importance to me in a discussion with Mr. Tank. It does have that importance to me when I appear before this committee or before any other such committee, because I know that people have gone to jail, for example, on the testimony of Mr. Matusow, who claimed that he told them—who claimed in the case of Jencks that Jencks had told him he was a Communist, and that man got a 5-year jail sentence. Now he says he lied.

Senator WELKER. While you are on Mr. Matusow, would you be good enough to tell me how many people have gone to the penitentiary by virtue of his testimony wherein Mr. Matusow was not corroborated by other and additional witnesses, sufficient to go to a jury in any court of law?

Mr. KAHN. You mean, corroborated; where his testimony wasn't corroborated?

Senator WELKER. That is right.

Mr. KAHN. I don't believe there was any corroboration of any substantial nature in the case of—

Senator WELKER. Now, I don't care about the substantial nature. Sufficient.

Mr. KAHN. All right.

Senator WELKER. Sufficient to go to a jury. That is a question of fact.

Mr. KAHN. That is what I thought you meant by the legal phrasing of your question.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Go ahead.

Mr. KAHN. It would have to be substantial.

Now, in the case of Jencks, for example, he received a 5-year sentence, and according to the United States attorney who prosecuted the case, this sentence could not have been obtained without Mr. Matusow's testimony. In other words, there is at least one American citizen who got a 5-year sentence based on perjurious testimony given by Mr. Matusow, according to his statement.

Senator WELKER. All right. Now, that is the Jencks case?

Mr. KAHN. That is right.

Senator WELKER. Now, name us some more. That is a Texas case, is it not?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Now, I think that we will have to find out from Judge Dimock the answer to this question about the Smith Act case.

Senator WELKER. Well, I am not interrogating Judge Dimock.

Mr. KAHN. I know. But I am not a judge nor a lawyer, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. All right.

You have made some statements here that this gentleman was responsible for sending people to the penitentiary.

Mr. KAHN. I think if the reporter will read what I said, you will find that what I said was this, that people go to jail today or can go to jail today on the basis of such testimony as Mr. Matusow gave. I did not specify how many went to jail on the basis of his testimony. Fortunately, I don't think very many did. There are only two cases that I know of in which Mr. Matusow testified in court, the one case being the Jencks case and the other case being the Smith Act case.

Senator WELKER. That is the 13—

Mr. KAHN. Yes; the second—

Senator WELKER. The second string of defendants?

Mr. KAHN. The second group, yes.

Now, I would like to make a brief comment on that.

I think that almost as important as the question of whether or not people go to jail on the basis of a man's lying testimony is the question of whether or not people lose their jobs on the basis of his testimony and whether or not Senators are slandered and people deceived on the basis of fraudulent propaganda he spreads against them, as Matusow did.

Senator WELKER. As his book says he did.

Mr. KAHN. Oh, but—well, I would say he did outside of his book.

Senator WELKER. I have no doubt about that.

Mr. KAHN. You mean he told the truth about the Senators——

Senator WELKER. No. I have no doubt about your conclusion that he told the truth in his book.

Mr. KAHN. My conclusion is based on——

Senator WELKER. We might have a difference of opinion on that subject matter.

Mr. KAHN. I am sure we might have a difference of opinion.

Senator WELKER. Now, Mr. Tank, my concluding question——

Mr. KAHN. You called me "Tank."

Senator WELKER. Kahn. I am sorry, sir. I beg your pardon.

You have here before you a group of Senators who have defended the defenseless and the oppressed for vicious, serious crimes, and I do not know one of them—one of them, including the interrogator—who has ever used the fifth amendment. The truth is always much better. Do you agree with me on that?

Mr. KAHN. I agree with the framers of the Constitution, and assume they put that clause in it for a very good purpose, and I also agree with Dean Griswold, of Harvard, who says that it is necessary for people to use the "fifth" today.

Senator WELKER. Well, I do not know that gentleman. But I do not suppose he has tried as many law cases as I have.

Mr. KAHN. He is the dean of the——

Senator WELKER. Or any member up here.

Mr. KAHN. He is the dean of a law school.

Senator WELKER. Well, I do not care about that, either.

Mr. KAHN. Well, I don't know how many——

Senator WELKER. If he is the dean of a law school, he perhaps has not tried many lawsuits.

Mr. KAHN. Then I just agree with the framers of the Constitution. Let's let it go at that.

Senator WELKER. Oh, well, if you are going to disagree with them, and I might happen to disagree with you gentlemen who appear before us, when asked a very simple question, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party, and you take refuge behind the fifth amendment, because I know good and well, Mr. Kahn, that if you answered that question truthfully, how under heaven's name could you be in trouble?

Mr. KAHN. Senator Welker, would you ask me to give up my constitutional rights in order for the privilege to speak here?

Senator WELKER. No. But I have seen a lot of these constitutional rights in the last 2 years since I have been on this committee.

Mr. KAHN. Well, you defended this right for me before the executive session. Don't you remember?

Senator WELKER. I told you I would try to help you frame the defense that you are richly entitled to. I am sorry, indeed, that you cannot give us a correct and true answer to that. I do not want to abuse you. If you think that that is the thing that you should do, I will go all-out, as will all the other members, and the chairman of this committee, to help you, to protect you, in that constitutional right that you and so many, many others take before this and other committees and courts of law.

Now, I do not think I will have any more questions for you. Thank you very much, Mr. Kahn.

Mr. KAHN. Thank you, Senator.

The only point I wanted to make, the one comment, is that in the discussion of the fifth amendment, I think we probably could conclude with what I said in the executive sessions to you, Senator Welker, that in terms of the importance of its use, or perhaps one might say, "De gustibus non disputandum est."

Senator WELKER. You will have to do a little interpreting for me.

Mr. KAHN. That is just a legal phrase which means, "Concerning matters of opinion there can be no dispute."

Senator WELKER. Very well. There is a difference of opinion I quite well assure you, sir.

Mr. KAHN. Yes. That is all right.

Senator WELKER. I have no more questions of Mr. Kahn.

Mr. Chairman, one more question.

You brought the name of the Right Reverend Bishop Oxnam into this matter. May I ask you this question. Did he contact your publishing firm about Matusow's book?

Mr. KAHN. There has been no contact, Senator Welker, between our publishing firm, that is, between Angus Cameron and myself and Bishop Oxnam; none whatsoever.

Senator WELKER. And you merely read it in the newspaper; is that correct?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

Senator WELKER. You did not see fit call the bishop?

Mr. KAHN. I did not call the bishop, no.

Senator WELKER. Notwithstanding the fact that the——

Mr. KAHN. I did not call him nor did I write him nor communicate in any way with him.

Senator WELKER. Did, to your knowledge, Mr. Cameron call him?

Mr. KAHN. To my knowledge Mr. Cameron did not call—in fact, I know that Mr. Cameron did not, not only to my knowledge; I know he did not.

Senator WELKER. Did Mr. Tank call him?

Mr. KAHN. No, Mr. Tank did not.

Senator WELKER. Did anyone else, to your knowledge, call him?

Mr. KAHN. I understand that Mr. Matusow contacted him.

Senator WELKER. After you had talked to Mr. Matusow?

Mr. KAHN. No; before.

Senator WELKER. Before.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Kahn, did you ever live outside of the United States?

Mr. KAHN. I have been outside of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever live in Poland?

Mr. KAHN. Well, yes, I lived there, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. What year did you live there?

Mr. KAHN. I visited there.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. What period of time was that?

Mr. KAHN. This was in 1948 and 1949. And may I make a comment, because I would like to get something clear on the public record?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. It was stated, I believe by the Senator, to the press, that I had spent considerable time—perhaps the press quoted you inac-



curately—in Poland since the end of the war. I would like to correct that impression that the press received, because I spent only 6 days there in 2 visits, which was not considerable time.

The CHAIRMAN. Two visits. What was that?

Mr. KAHN. 1948 and 1949, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been to the Soviet Union?

Mr. KAHN. No, I have never visited the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Your father was employed in the Soviet Union?

Mr. KAHN. My father was employed as a consulting architect for the first 5-year program.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Proceed.

Senator DANIEL. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Kahn, a moment ago you testified that you had talks with various members of the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. Will you name some of those members of the party with whom you had contact?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. As I have testified before, I met with Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, for example.

Senator DANIEL. Will you identify her?

Mr. KAHN. She is one of the—publicly known as one of the leaders of the Communist Party of the United States, and is at present in prison.

Senator DANIEL. Did you meet with her in a Communist Party meeting?

(The witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. KAHN. I will decline to answer that on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator DANIEL. Did you ever meet with her in places outside of a Communist Party meeting?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. Will you give the committee the nature of those meetings?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. The last time I met with Miss Flynn was to discuss this particular case; that is, the Matusow case.

Senator DANIEL. And had you met with her previously on one or more occasions?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I have probably met with Miss Flynn on a number of occasions, and probably spoke at various meetings where she spoke, and things of that sort.

Senator DANIEL. Were any of those meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. None that I recall.

Senator DANIEL. They were not meetings of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Senator DANIEL. Will you name some other members of the Communist Party with whom you have associated and discussed other matters?

Mr. KAHN. I have met with and know a Communist leader who is publicly known as a Communist leader, Steve Nelson.

Senator DANIEL. On a few occasions or many occasions?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I would say a number of occasions.

Senator DANIEL. A number of occasions?

Mr. KAHN. I regard him as a friend of mine.

Senator DANIEL. Did you have any business dealings with Mr. Nelson?

Mr. KAHN. Business dealings?

Senator DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. You mean—no. He, for example, was in this business. My business is writing and I was writing articles about his case in Pittsburgh. Now, that was business to me.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. Well, you were in the publishing business?

Mr. KAHN. No. I never did anything about publishing with him. That was reportage, and I was writing a series of articles.

Senator DANIEL. Were you attempting to assist him in this case?

Mr. KAHN. I hoped that my writing would prove of assistance, because I thought he was being unfairly tried. The charge against him, I felt, was unjust.

Senator DANIEL. You did, of course, know that he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. That was public knowledge, yes, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. All right. Name another member of the Communist Party with whom you have had associations.

Mr. KAHN. I believe Trachtenberg is a member of the Communist Party.

Senator DANIEL. All right. And what has been your association with him?

Mr. KAHN. Well, Mr. Trachtenberg is a publisher and was the head of International Publishers, and I have discussed matters relating to publishing with him.

Senator DANIEL. Have you ever published any of his works?

Mr. KAHN. No, nor have any of mine been published by him.

Senator DANIEL. Have you ever met in any Communist Party meeting with Mr. Trachtenberg?

Mr. KAHN. I would decline to answer that, Senator, on the ground of the "fifth."

Senator WELKER. You would what?

Mr. KAHN. I would decline to answer questions relating to my having met with any of these Communist leaders at Communist Party meetings on the grounds of the "fifth."

Senator DANIEL. All right. Name another member of the Communist Party with whom you have had association.

Mr. KAHN. I believe that Mr. V. J. Jerome is a member of the Communist Party, publicly so known.

Senator DANIEL. And what is his position with the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Well, he was the editor of Political Affairs, and I think connected with the publication Masses and Mainstream.

Senator DANIEL. He is one of the convicted Communist leaders and cultural commissar of the Communist Party, USA; would that be a correct description?

Mr. KAHN. Well, Senator, I never called him that. I never called him cultural commissar. I always called him Mr. Jerome, or sometimes V. J., as a matter of fact.

Senator DANIEL. I was trying to see if we were talking about the same man. You have heard him described—

Mr. KAHN. I am sure we are talking about the same man.

Senator DANIEL. You have heard him given this title before I mentioned it here, have you not, "cultural commissar"?

Mr. KAHN. No, I hadn't heard that, but I don't think—I mean—

Senator DANIEL. Well, what have you heard him spoken of as?

Mr. KAHN. I heard him spoken of as editor of Political Affairs and associated with Masses and Mainstream, and very active in cultural work in general.

Senator DANIEL. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, although I believe you would find it extends beyond the Communist Party.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. He had told you that he was a member of the Communist Party, had he not?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall his telling me that. I took it for granted.

Senator DANIEL. You had met with him on many occasions, had you not?

Mr. KAHN. I have met with him on a number of occasions.

Senator DANIEL. Have you met with him in meetings in the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I have to give the same answer to that that I gave before, that I decline to answer that in relationship to any of the Communist leaders on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator DANIEL. All right. Did Mr. Jerome, known to you to be a member of the Communist Party, help you in selling or distributing any of your books?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I don't like to criticize Mr. Jerome, but I felt that—as a matter of fact, the last discussion I had with him was that I felt there had not been enough help.

Senator DANIEL. Were you trying to get Mr. Jerome to help you?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. I was trying to get him to publish a review in his magazine, and since 9 or 10 months elapsed since the publication of my book, I thought the review was long overdue, and I thought it would help in the sale of the book. That was the Game of Death. And I was criticizing him for the fact that it had not yet been reviewed.

Senator DANIEL. Had he helped you previously with books?

Mr. KAHN. Well, the reviews were always a bit late, I thought. But that may have been the feelings of an author.

Senator DANIEL. Well, had you asked him to help you previously with your books?

Mr. KAHN. Well, after a certain amount of time elapsed, when I thought they had had enough time to review it, I called the reviewers and tried to get the book reviewed.

Senator DANIEL. Now, I am talking about Mr. Jerome, as an official of the Communist Party. Did you call any other officials of the Communist Party to help you with distribution of your books?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Senator DANIEL. He is the only one?

Mr. KAHN. I saw—I undoubtedly discussed the problem of distribution with some one like Mr. Trachtenberg, for example. He knows a great deal about distribution of books.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. Did you ask for his assistance in distributing books?

Mr. KAHN. Well, there really wasn't any assistance, unfortunately, that Mr. Trachtenberg could give me.

Senator DANIEL. Why did you talk to him about assisting?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I thought he might have ideas that would be useful in publicizing books and things of that sort, and regarded him as an expert in the field.

Senator DANIEL. All right. What other member of the Communist Party did you talk with about distribution of your books?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall having talked to any other members or officials of the Communist Party about distribution of my books. I had a very wide distribution without them, but it is possible to obtain a considerable sale through some of their facilities.

Senator DANIEL. How long have you known Mr. Joseph R. Starobin?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I would estimate that I have known Mr. Starobin for 10 years.

Senator DANIEL. Do you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I believe he was. I do not know of my own knowledge, but he certainly gives every appearance of so being.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. You have heard him say that he was, have you not?

Mr. KAHN. No. If he had told me that, since I believe he tells the truth, I would say that I knew him to be. But I never heard him say. He never told me he was.

Senator DANIEL. You believe him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct.

Senator DANIEL. Have you published a book by Mr. Starobin?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. It is called Eyewitness in Indochina.

Senator DANIEL. Did you believe him to be a Communist at the time?

Mr. KAHN. I believed him to be a Communist for quite a long time, including that specific time.

Senator DANIEL. Including the time when you agreed to publish his book, Eyewitness in Indochina?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. Was that book published by Cameron & Kahn, the same publishers who are publishing now the Matusow book?

Mr. KAHN. The very thing.

Senator DANIEL. Is this a pro-Communist book?

Mr. KAHN. I would not so characterize it, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. It has been so characterized by friends of the Communist Party, has it not?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Senator DANIEL. Well, haven't you heard some Communists so characterize it?

Mr. KAHN. No, I have not.

Senator DANIEL. Is it on the approved list of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know. I can't answer that. I don't know what that list consists of.

Senator DANIEL. Have you asked any Communists to help you or did you ask any Communist to help you in the distribution of the book, Eyewitness in Indochina?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Senator DANIEL. Who?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Starobin. I believed him to be a Communist.

Senator DANIEL. Who else? What other member of the Communist Party did you ask to help you in the distribution of that book?

Mr. KAHN. None other that I know of.

Senator DANIEL. What about Mr. Jerome?

Mr. KAHN. I never discussed that book with Mr. Jerome.

Senator DANIEL. Did he write a review on it?

Mr. KAHN. Now that you remind me, I don't think they did. I will have to get—well, he is in jail.

Senator DANIEL. Did you ask him to?

Mr. KAHN. No, I never did. That was remiss on my part.

Senator DANIEL. Did you ever talk to Mr. Trachtenberg about the book?

Mr. KAHN. No, I never did, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. You know Mr. Starobin was a leading writer for the Daily Worker, do you not?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. As a matter of fact, we mentioned that on the jacket of the book.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. Well, now, could you be mistaken concerning Mr. Jerome in whether or not he reviewed your book or the book you published, Eyewitness in Indochina?

Mr. KAHN. I said I didn't know whether he reviewed it or not. I said I would have to look into it. I hope they did, because it would have helped in the sale, and we needed it.

Senator DANIEL. I asked first, did you ask him to review the book to help you in the sale.

Mr. KAHN. I didn't ask him, no.

Senator DANIEL. Then I will ask you whether or not he wrote a review of that book.

Mr. KAHN. I said I didn't know. I believe that is what I said.

Senator DANIEL. I understand that you thought he did not, as a matter of fact.

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Senator DANIEL. However, to refresh your memory, I will hand you a book review, some photostatic pages of Books in Review, Eyewitness in Indochina, by Joseph R. Starobin, Cameron & Kahn, \$1, which is taken from the July 1954 issue of Masses and Mainstream. Will you identify this?

Mr. KAHN. I have here in front of me—well, I don't know how I can identify this. I never saw it before.

Senator DANIEL. Suppose you look it over just a minute before you decline to identify it.

Mr. KAHN. I didn't decline—

Senator DANIEL. Look over each page and see if you can identify whether or not you can say if that is a photostatic copy of a book review from Masses and Mainstream of this book.

Mr. KAHN. No, I cannot say that. I have looked it over, and I see no evidence that it is from Masses and Mainstream, or any other place.

Senator DANIEL. Now, what is Masses and Mainstream?

Mr. KAHN. Masses and Mainstream is a Marxist magazine.

Senator DANIEL. A Marxist magazine published by whom?

Mr. KAHN. Masses and Mainstream.

Senator DANIEL. Who is the editor of it?

Mr. KAHN. I am embarrassed to say that I don't know offhand.

Senator DANIEL. Well, does Mr. Jerome have anything to do with it, the man you identified as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I believe he has worked in some editorial capacity with it. I don't know what is his exact association.

Senator DANIEL. Don't you know that he is a contributing editor to Masses and Mainstream?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I did not know that that was his title; no, I didn't know.

Senator DANIEL. Just tell us what you do know about Mr. Jerome's—

Mr. KAHN. I said I didn't.

Senator DANIEL. Connection with Masses and Mainstream.

Mr. KAHN. All I knew was what I said before, that I believed he had some sort of editorial relationship with it, and you now have defined it specifically, I gather.

The CHAIRMAN. How much did that man Starobin there loan the firm of Cameron & Kahn to help you organize?

Mr. KAHN. I think—well, he didn't loan us anything to help us organize the firm. He put some money into his book. He loaned us some money for the publication of his book. That was the first and only money we received from him, Senator Eastland.

Senator DANIEL. What was that book?

Mr. KAHN. That book was the book called Eyewitness in Indochina.

Senator DANIEL. Now, did any copy of Eyewitness in Indochina go outside of the United States on approval or otherwise before its publication?

Mr. KAHN. It is quite possible, but I have no personal knowledge of it.

Senator DANIEL. Was a copy sent within the Soviet Union before publication?

Mr. KAHN. I can't—I have absolutely no knowledge of that.

Senator DANIEL. Is it possible?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, of course, it is possible. It is possible that it was sent anywhere in the world, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. The Soviet Union, if I understand, did not negotiate with you for rights to publish your book within the Soviet Union?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. But they do publish your books and then send you royalties; is that right?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator. They are not a party to the Geneva Copyright Agreement, and so they publish and hold the royalties and send the royalties.

Senator DANIEL. Now, with what other members of the Communist Party have you had associations or business dealings?

Mr. KAHN. Betty Gannett.

Senator DANIEL. Would you identify her for the committee?

Mr. KAHN. She is one of this—she is known as a Communist leader.

Senator DANIEL. Where?

Mr. KAHN. Well, she is among the group, the last group that was imprisoned, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. What was your relation with her?

Mr. KAHN. I believe I just met her at public meetings of one sort or another. I don't remember exactly what.

Senator DANIEL. Did you meet with her at any private or closed meetings?

Mr. KAHN. I would decline to answer that, Senator, on the grounds of the "fifth."

Senator DANIEL. You will testify that you met her at public meetings?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Senator DANIEL. Of what nature?

Mr. KAHN. The reason I decline on the other—

Senator DANIEL. Now, I am just asking you, of what nature? I think you have explained the reason, and I—

Mr. KAHN. No. I just want to make a comment on it. I will be very brief. If you asked me—

Senator DANIEL. If it is in response to the question, all right.

Mr. KAHN. It is. It is in response to a question.

Senator DANIEL. All right.

Mr. KAHN. You see, if you ask me if I met at a closed meeting with a Communist, you are asking me if I am a Communist, because if a meeting is closed, only Communists could attend it. Isn't that right?

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know anything about it.

Senator WELKER. You tell us.

Mr. KAHN. I am asking you about your definition. Since you are using the phrase—Senator Jenner frequently uses this phrase, and I therefore assume that he knows what it means. Now, I assume when you talk about a closed meeting, you are talking about a meeting that can only be attended by Communists. I know you are not trying to trip me into such an answer, but it seems to me that is the same question as asking me whether I am a Communist.

Senator WELKER. Yes, I am asking.

The CHAIRMAN. You speak of our attempting to trick you, Mr. Kahn.

Mr. KAHN. No. I said I know you are not.

The CHAIRMAN. I know.

Mr. KAHN. I did not say you were.

The CHAIRMAN. No. I understand that. But what you are afraid of is that if you answer the question, "Are you a member of the Communist party," if that were answered in the affirmative, you are afraid you might be indicted; is that the reason for declining to answer it?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I don't believe I have to give any reason other than that which I have given you.

The CHAIRMAN. No. I asked you if that was your reason.

Mr. KAHN. Well, my reason is the one I have given, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Senator JENNER. What reason did he give?

Mr. KAHN. The "fifth."

Senator DANIEL. Now, I want to say for the record, Mr. Chairman, that today is the first time I have heard any distinction drawn between a closed meeting and an open meeting of the Communist Party. Of course, I am a new member on the committee, but you, Mr. Kahn, were the one who first told me that there was such a distinction in your testimony here today. So certainly you are telling me about it and not me telling you or trying to trick you in any way.

I just asked you if this last lady, a member of the Communist Party whom you have told us about, if you did associate with her or meet with her in public meetings.

Mr. KAHN. I believe so, Senator. I can't specifically recall. You see, I have met—I am not trying to be evasive, I assure you—I have met with a number of Communist meetings, and—

Senator DANIEL. About how many would you say, just to give the committee some idea of your—

Mr. KAHN. Oh, my Lord, let's see. Oh, several dozen, I should say, and—

Senator DANIEL. Well, would you just give us a little bit more of an idea? Would you say that you have met with at least 50 or 100 members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Well, do you include the May Day parade and that meeting, because there used to be an awful lot of people there, you know?

Senator DANIEL. Of course, I think that we know that—

Mr. KAHN. You mean personally?

Senator DANIEL. I think we understand each other—

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. I am talking about the same type of people that you are talking about and that you were talking about a minute ago when you said there must be several dozen.

Mr. KAHN. All right. I would say 30 or 40.

Senator DANIEL. Thirty or forty members of the Communist party?

Mr. KAHN. I would think so.

Senator DANIEL. Known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; I would think so.

Senator DANIEL. And have those been business dealings mostly or have you been working with them in connection with your books, or what type of dealings have you had with all these members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. No. Some of them, like Mr. Nelson, I would regard as personal friends. I have friends who are Communists and non-Communists. Some of them I have met in public meetings where we both, let us say, would be on the platform. I have spoken at scores of meetings in the last 10 or 15 years in this country, and I would say at a great many of those meetings there have been—I would say at a number of those meetings, because there have been more without Communist leaders. But let us say at a number of those meetings there have been Communist leaders. I have met with them. I have sat and talked with them before and afterward, things of this sort.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. Why were those Communist leaders at the meetings that you were addressing?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I suppose they were there because they were invited, Senator—

Senator DANIEL. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. As I was invited.

Senator DANIEL. Yes. They were Communist meetings or pro-Communist meetings?

Mr. KAHN. Well, no, I wouldn't say that, Senator. For example, if there was a meeting on civil rights, which involved Communists



and non-Communists, I would not call it a pro-Communist meeting. I believe personally that civil rights should be extended to Communists just as to non-Communists, and I believe that Communists should be invited to come to speak at such a meeting. And many of these meetings were civil rights meetings.

Senator DANIEL. Have you ever—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute. They were invited because their point of view on that particular question and your point of view were the same; is that correct?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I wouldn't say that, because I heard disagreement on the platform between these leaders when they spoke on civil rights and when other speakers spoke on civil rights. I remember specifically—

The CHAIRMAN. I say, your point of view and their point of view—

Mr. KAHN. No, I wouldn't say that, either, because I would say that the point of view I expressed at those meetings was different from the point of view they expressed.

Senator DANIEL. Well, did you ever address any meetings or attend any meetings at which a majority of those present were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I would say that is quite possible, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. Well, tell us about some of them.

Mr. KAHN. Well, I was once asked to speak at a Madison Square Garden meeting, and I believe that that meeting was arranged, it was sponsored by, to the best of my recollection, by the Communist Party. I believe that—

Senator DANIEL. What year was that?

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Sourwine—perhaps you would check with his files, and tell you—

Senator DANIEL. All right.

Mr. KAHN. I believe that all of the speakers on the platform were known Communists with the exception of two guests, one of whom was the British scientist, J. B. S. Haldane, and the other of whom was myself. It was a memorial rally in connection with the death of Lenin.

Senator DANIEL. Are you testifying now to this committee that you were not a Communist at the time you spoke at that?

Mr. KAHN. I didn't say that, Senator, did I? I said that I believe that all of the speakers with the exception of myself were known Communists.

Senator DANIEL. Were known Communists?

Mr. KAHN. That is what I said, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. Now, just what do you mean for us to gather from that statement that they were public, with reference to yourself and your membership in the Communist party or nonmembership?

Mr. KAHN. I mean that the others were publicly known Communists and that I was identified as a guest speaker. I am making no comment on whether or not I am a Communist, you see. Now—

Senator DANIEL. Now, just a moment, since you have drawn a distinction between public knowledge, the other members were publicly known to be Communists—

Mr. KAHN. I believe so, Senator; so I said.

Senator DANIEL. But you were not publicly known to be a Communist at that time?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, sir.

Senator DANIEL. Is that your testimony?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. Well, were you a Communist at that time?

Mr. KAHN. Why, Senator, I have to decline to answer that, as I have explained, on the grounds of the fifth amendment.

Senator DANIEL. All right. Now proceed.

Mr. KAHN. Now, J. B. S. Haldane and I were introduced as the two guest speakers. This was a memorial rally in connection with the anniversary of the death of Lenin. I was asked to speak on the question of the existence and the treatment of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union.

I was then president of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order and was very glad to take that opportunity to speak on that question because antisemitism was a crime against the state in the Soviet Union, and I felt that the Jewish people had been treated extraordinarily well in the Soviet Union, and so I was very glad of the opportunity to express that point of view.

Senator DANIEL. All right.

Now, what other meetings did you address that were sponsored by the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I beg your pardon?

Senator DANIEL. What other meetings have you addressed that were sponsored by the Communist Party?

(Witness confers with his counsel.)

Mr. KAHN. I recall no other public meetings that were sponsored by the Communist Party at which I spoke.

Senator DANIEL. Well, have you addressed any private meetings that were sponsored—

Mr. KAHN. I declined to answer—you know, I already declined to answer whether or not I attended any private meetings of the Communist Party.

Senator DANIEL. Now, a moment ago on the May Day parade matter, we left that without pursuing it all the way. I would like to know if the May Day parade has any significance in your mind concerning communism or Russia. You said it was begun in this country as a labor parade.

Mr. KAHN. Yes; that is right.

Senator DANIEL. Does it have any other significance in your mind today at all?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; it does.

Senator DANIEL. Does it have any significance as far as communism, the Russian revolution, is concerned?

Mr. KAHN. No; that isn't the significance it has. You mean the significance it has to me?

Senator DANIEL. All I want is just your honest answer as to what is the significance of the May Day parades to you now and why the Communist Party takes part and why the parades are sponsored by the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. Yes. I will give you my sincere answer on that, for which you have asked.

Senator DANIEL. Yes, surely. Go ahead.

Mr. KAHN. My belief is that—and this is why I participate in it—that the May Day parade expresses what to me is one of the most important things in life, and that is the international solidarity of working men and women, working men and women throughout the world, their common interests in peace and the welfare of their children, and in developing a better world for all humankind. I believe that that day has come, to me, to symbolize that thought. And I also believe that it symbolizes that thought for millions of men and women throughout the rest of the world who march on that day, and therefore I want to march with them.

Senator DANIEL. Does it have any connection—is it an anniversary of any event in Russia?

Mr. KAHN. No, Senator, not as far as I know.

Senator DANIEL. Not that you know of?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Senator DANIEL. Do you think that the Communist Party today is any threat or danger to the United States Government?

Mr. KAHN. No, Senator; I don't.

Senator DANIEL. If you knew that your book was being used to benefit the Communist Party members and the Communist Party in the United States, would that make any difference to you about its publication?

Mr. KAHN. Senator, if the truth can benefit them, then it must benefit them. I am only interested in telling the truth. If the truth were to hurt them, I would tell the truth, too.

Senator DANIEL. Did you feel that some of the congressional committees were negligent in believing Mr. Matusow and in using him?

Mr. KAHN. I think they were appallingly negligent, Senator.

Senator DANIEL. Don't you think you might be appallingly negligent in believing and using him now?

Mr. KAHN. No, Senator. I have had 15 or 20 years in the matter of investigating such activities, and I have something of a reputation beginning with the very beginning of the Second World War in this field. I spent days and days studying his documentation. I have gone over every aspect of it, and I believe that those committees that used him—and I am not referring to the composition of the present committee, although I would say Mr. Sourwine, since he was on the previous committee—were extraordinarily remiss and derelict in their duty in using this man who told obvious lies, and I could prove to your satisfaction, Senator, that they were obvious lies at the time they were told. They would have been obvious to you.

Senator DANIEL. Well, I do not know how much investigation you have made in comparison to mine, but I will say to you, sir, that I have found since this hearing began that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and these committee staffs went to a great deal of trouble, many more days than you could possibly have gone to, since you have met Matusow, in checking his previous testimony and in corroborating it before they ever used it, and before these hearings are over, sir, I think it will be evident to you that they are not nearly as negligent and remiss, or have not been nearly so much as you and Mr. Cameron have been in your use of this book.

The CHAIRMAN. Could I ask the Senator a question?

Mr. KAHN. Senator, before you ask, may I make one comment on this, please?

The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute. I would like to ask Senator Daniel a question.

Do you think that the firm of Cameron & Kahn have been negligent and remiss in using this witness, or do you think it has been deliberately done?

Senator DANIEL. Well, Mr. Chairman, I do not know that my opinion is worth anything, but in view of the evidence that I have heard in this hearing, I will take their word that they checked the story to some extent, but it seems to me that Mr. Matusow's story has been deliberately used to serve the viewpoint of the publishers of this book. That is my opinion. I doubt that it is worth anything in this hearing.

Mr. KAHN. Senator, may I make a brief comment?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. KAHN. I think the Senator's opinion is certainly worth a great deal. Otherwise he would not have expressed it and wouldn't be in his present position. But for his consideration, I just want to make this point, Senator, in terms of all fairness and justice, and your own consideration.

Mr. Matusow gave testimony when Mr. Sourwine was counsel for this committee in 1952 in Salt Lake City in which he put into the record testimony directly contradicting testimony he had given 3 months before, before the Un-American Activities Committee under oath. Both testimonies are in the record for you to see. One of the two is a lie. A good lawyer, a good counselor, would have observed that fact. Mr. Matusow appeared before this committee and testified to the fact that there were—

The CHAIRMAN. Now, wait just a minute.

Mr. KAHN. Do you want this item?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I want the item.

Mr. KAHN. The specific item?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Right.

I can tell you roughly what it is, and then I will get it in exact detail.

Mr. Matusow testified when he appeared before the Un-American Activities Committee—well, I don't even need to refer to the page. I will give you that a little later. Mr. Matusow testified—and I found this myself, even though I am not a lawyer, when I was going through the testimony—I found that when Mr. Matusow testified before the Un-American Activities Committee on his first appearance, he was asked if he knew of any specific instance in which a Communist had plotted to interfere with war production in the United States. He said he knew of no such instance in his sworn testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

If you will check the record, you will find that statement, and shortly afterwards a statement in your own record in which he not only says he knows of an instance, but gives the name of a person.

The CHAIRMAN. Who was the person?

Mr. KAHN. The person was Clint Jencks.

The CHAIRMAN. The person was Clint Jencks.

Now, did Mr. Jencks testify?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; Mr. Jencks testified to the fact that it was a lie.

The CHAIRMAN. At this same hearing?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall what he testified in this hearing.

Senator DANIEL. Are you sure of what you just said—

The CHAIRMAN. Did he take the fifth amendment at this hearing and decline to testify, the hearing in Salt Lake City?

Mr. KAHN. Senator Eastland, whether he did or not, the point I am making here is that you have before you—and I don't want to have the subject changed—you have before you here two directly contradictory statements by Mr. Matusow—

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. KAHN (continuing). Proving that he lied on one of these two occasions, and your counsel should have caught it. I will give you the instance, since Senator Welker asked for it.

Mr. Matusow testified while Mr. Sourwine was counsel, testified to the fact that there were more than 100 members of the Communist Party on the New York Times. This was quite casually accepted, and he was invited to come back and testify again.

Now, why did you permit such things, Mr. Sourwine? I mean, why did Mr. Sourwine permit them?

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute, please, sir.

Mr. Sourwine is not under investigation.

Mr. KAHN. No, but he is investigating me.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute, please, sir. This committee is satisfied with the services of Mr. Sourwine. We think he is doing a great job.

Mr. KAHN. And not prejudiced—

The CHAIRMAN. I think—I am doubly sure—when people come here and take the fifth amendment, when people come here whose books have upheld the Communist cause all over the world and been used to the detriment of the United States, I am doubly sure that Mr. Sourwine is doing a fine job.

Now, sir, I ask you this question. I want you to name the books, for the record, that the firm of Cameron & Kahn have published.

Mr. KAHN. The first book which was published was a book entitled "The—" oh, I haven't identified that yet. Am I still meant to identify this thing?

Senator JENNER. You said you could not.

Mr. KAHN. O. K. I can't.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you could not identify it.

Now, I want the name of the books that your firm, every book that your firm has published.

Mr. KAHN. All right. The first book was The Game of Death. The author of that book was myself, Albert E. Kahn.

I may not give them in order, but I am sure you don't mind.

Another book was called Mill Town. The author of that book was Bill Cahn. Another book was called The Ecstasy of Owen Muir. The author of that book is Ring Lardner, Jr.

Another book is called The Testament of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg. That book has no author. Well, it has, but they are both dead. The authors of that book were Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, in that the book consisted of letters that they had written in the death house before they were executed.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, sir.

Mr. KAHN. The Testament.

Another book was Eyewitness in Indo-China, by Joseph Starobin.

Senator WELKER. I did not get that, Mr. Witness.

Mr. KAHN. Eyewitness in Indo-China. It was a piece of reportage. Senator WELKER. I have got it now. Thank you, sir.

Mr. KAHN. Another book was a book of poetry, the name of which for the moment slips my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. The Truth About Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; did you publish that?

Mr. KAHN. No. I think you have reference to a forthcoming book, Senator Eastland, by John Wexley, which is now called The Judgment of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg.

The CHAIRMAN. You are publishing that book?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; we are publishing that book.

The CHAIRMAN. The McCarthy Conspiracy, by Charles R. Allen, Jr.?

Mr. KAHN. The McCarthy Conspiracy, we haven't published that yet. We will publish it. That is by Charles R. Allen.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Name the books that you will publish or that you intend to publish.

Mr. KAHN. False Witness by Harvey Matusow.

The CHAIRMAN. We know how that is financed. Now, what are the other books?

Mr. KAHN. No. On that last point, Senator—

The CHAIRMAN. I said, I am satisfied.

Mr. KAHN. I know, Senator. But you made—

The CHAIRMAN. I asked that we proceed now with your other books.

Mr. KAHN. I want to make a comment, very brief, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. No, sir.

Mr. KAHN. I may not make a comment?

The CHAIRMAN. No, sir. I have permitted you to make a comment on several points, on every point you asked when we were discussing the financing of that book, and I don't want to reopen it.

Mr. KAHN. All right. It is not vital.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Now, what other books do you intend publishing?

Mr. KAHN. I think those are covered by the ones you have just named. There may be a couple—I don't recall any—

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had any—

Mr. KAHN. Oh, wait, there is one other, called, of course, yes, Labor's Untold Story.

The CHAIRMAN. By whom?

Mr. KAHN. By Richard O. Boyer and Dr. Herbert Morais.

Senator DANIEL. Have you sold any advance copies of that book?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. There has been an advance order placed for that book by the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that an organization that was expelled from the CIO?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. It was expelled because it was alleged to be a Communist organization?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. How many copies of that book have they purchased?

Mr. KAHN. They purchased 10,000 in advance.

The CHAIRMAN. They paid you 50 cents a copy?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else has bought copies of that book?

Mr. KAHN. Up until now I believe that is the only purchase of any significance. There are undoubtedly a number of, you know, small orders that have come in from book stores around the country.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you sold publishing rights to any foreign country?

Mr. KAHN. No; we have not, Senator.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you negotiating with any foreign country or firms in foreign countries?

Mr. KAHN. On the sale of which rights, Senator Eastland?

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. KAHN. On the sale of which rights?

The CHAIRMAN. The publishing rights.

Mr. KAHN. Of which book, I mean?

The CHAIRMAN. Labor's Untold Story.

Mr. KAHN. No. We don't ordinarily enter into such negotiations until a book is in print.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now let us go to the book Judgment. Now, you advertised it as the truth about Julius and Ethel Rosenberg?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator Eastland.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Now, have you sold any copies of that book?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that there have been a few hundred copies sold in advance at some meetings at which Mr. Wexley has spoken, the author.

The CHAIRMAN. What were those meetings, sir?

Mr. KAHN. Those were meetings that were arranged for him to speak at, you know, on which he would talk about the book and its content, an advance discussion on the book, and people would place advance orders for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, about how many orders?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, a few hundred at the most, I would say.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir. Have you sold any foreign publishing rights on that book?

Mr. KAHN. No, Senator. We can't do that until the book is in print.

Senator WELKER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, sir.

Senator WELKER. You mentioned a gentleman—an individual by the name of Steve Nelson.

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator.

Senator WELKER. You said, I think, that you were a close friend of his.

Mr. KAHN. I so regard myself, Senator.

Senator WELKER. And without asking his name, that was not his true name, was it?

Mr. KAHN. The only one under which I have ever known him since the time of the war in Spain, Senator; I mean, since the time of the civil war in Spain.

Senator WELKER. You knew him to be a man who had attended the Lenin School in Moscow?

Mr. KAHN. No; I did not know that, Senator. I knew him to be a man who had fought in Spain against Hitler and Mussolini, and he had my great admiration for that.

Senator WELKER. Yes. And he is now reposing in the penitentiary?

Mr. KAHN. I don't believe so, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Perhaps you are right. I thought he was.

Mr. KAHN. I don't think so, Senator. It is quite possible.

Senator WELKER. Now, my concluding question in the series: Senator Daniel asked you a moment ago whether you knew of any authors who submitted their proofs to publishers who are members of the Communist Party. Do you recall that?

Mr. KAHN. No; I didn't recall that question, whether I knew of anyone who submitted—

Senator WELKER. Yes. He interrogated you at length on that.

Mr. KAHN. I think Senator Daniel interrogated me as to whether I contacted various Communist officials in connection with the distribution and promotion of our book.

Senator WELKER. No. I think if I recall correctly, and I will challenge the record on it, he asked whether or not any authors had submitted, to your knowledge, any manuscripts, any proofs, or whatever you might call them, to publishers who were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that question. But is that a question?

Senator WELKER. I think I am right. And if I am wrong, I will apologize. Now, I want to ask you this: Do you know any author who has submitted a proof or a manuscript to any publisher, the title of the manuscript or book being *The Game of Death*?

Mr. KAHN. Would you repeat that question?

Senator WELKER. Well, that is a pretty hard one.

Mr. KAHN. No; it isn't hard. It just seems to be ambiguous.

Senator WELKER. Do you know of any author who has submitted for publication or has had published a book entitled "*The Game of Death*" to a Communist publication?

Mr. KAHN. Well, the author of *The Game of Death* is Albert Kahn, myself. That is No. 1; right?

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. KAHN. Now, you are asking me whether I submitted *The Game of Death*—

Senator WELKER. You bet your life I am.

Mr. KAHN. All right. We could make it specific, then.

Senator WELKER. All right. Now, did you submit *The Game of Death* to a Communist publication house, namely, Cameron & Kahn?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I see what you mean. I thought it was a much more embracing question.

No, I don't regard the firm of Cameron & Kahn as a Communist publishing house, if that is what you mean, but it is quite possible that some of the publishers abroad are Communist publishing companies.

Senator WELKER. Very well now—



The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. Let him answer the question.

Mr. KAHN. That is the extent of my answer.

Incidentally—

The CHAIRMAN. Some of your purchasers abroad are Communists; was that your answer?

Mr. KAHN. I said it is quite possible that some of the publishers might be called Communist publishing houses. I assume, for example, that the Communists have something to do with the publishing of books in the Soviet Union.

Senator WELKER. Yes. All right. Now, Cameron & Kahn is a publisher—

Mr. KAHN. Senator, may I interrupt? I don't mean to be rude, but is it possible to have a 5-minute recess? I can explain why.

Senator WELKER. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. Thank you very much.

(Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Senator WELKER. I had a question.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Do you remember the question propounded to you, Mr. Kahn?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. Very well. Will you answer that?

Mr. KAHN. The question, as I recall it dealt with the submission by me of any books to publishing houses that might have been Communist: is that the question?

Senator WELKER. That is right.

Mr. KAHN. And I was saying that this book had been submitted only in this country to Cameron & Kahn, a corporation, which I do not regard as Communist, and abroad, I went on to say, it is quite possible that in several countries my books have been published by firms that could be characterized as Communist.

Senator WELKER. All right.

You say your corporation that you submitted Game of Death to, you don't regard them as Communists. Would you name the members of that corporation?

Mr. KAHN. The members of that corporation are myself, Angus Cameron, and Sheila Cameron.

Senator WELKER. Now, you are all stockholders?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct.

Senator WELKER. Or directors?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator.

Senator WELKER. Are any of the members of that corporation, to your knowledge, members of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I must decline to answer whether I am, and I do not know whether Angus Cameron and Shelia Cameron are. If I were a Communist, let us say, you know, for the sake of supposition, then there would be two members of the firm whose political association I don't know.

Senator WELKER. Now, you say if you were a Communist?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I say—

Senator WELKER. Now, I think as a matter of law you have opened up the subject matter and cannot claim the fifth amendment.

Now, I will ask you again, are you as of this time, or any time heretofore, a member of the Communist Party?

I ask the chairman to direct you to answer that question.

Mr. KAHN. Well, Senator Welker, I will answer without direction. As I say again, I am sure there was no intent to trick me into a situation.

Senator WELKER. I would not do that for anything in the world.

Mr. KAHN. I am sure of that. But I must decline to answer the question regarding my political affiliations, whether or not I am a Communist, on the grounds of the fifth amendment, as I stated before.

Senator WELKER. Very well.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Chairman, so that the record may be complete, may I offer for the record at this time the review which was shown to Mr. Kahn, the review which appears at pages 58, 59 and the following pages in *Masses and Mainstream* of July 1954?

The CHAIRMAN. That will be admitted for the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 32" and appears below:)

EXHIBIT No. 32

BOOKS IN REVIEW

*Eyewitness in Indo-China*, by Joseph R. Starobin. Cameron & Kahn. \$1.00.

President Ho Chi Minh's Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Vietminh Liberation Army have been fighting against heavy odds for the last 8 years to free Indochina from foreign domination. Outnumbered 3 to 2 by French troops, receiving through barter some weapons from China only during the past 3 years while the French received—according to Howard K. Smith (CBS, May 16)—20 times as much war material from the United States, the Vietminh guerrilla army nevertheless has pushed the French troops with their backs against the wall. By their victory at Dienbienphu, they have showed their capacity for positional warfare as well.

With rare exception, this magnificent struggle for national liberation has been presented to the American people in an incredibly distorted form, in which heroes have been transformed into villains and adventurers into crusaders. The Vietminh Army and the Ho government—with which France signed a treaty in March 1946 and broke it soon after—have been presented as "rebels" while the Bao Dai government thrust upon the Indochinese by France with United States connivance has been called the "legitimate Government of Vietnam."

In reporting the battle of Dienbienphu, newspapers invariably characterized the French troops as "gallant," and described the Vietminh troops fighting for their country as "screaming hordes." It was conveniently overlooked that the French troops were composed mostly of Foreign Legionnaires—80 percent German and Austrian Nazis and Spanish Fascists—and impressed Moroccan and Senegalese colonials. To the American press their courage—the courage of mercenary soldiers—made them crusaders, while the indomitable bravery of the Vietminh Army made them "fanatics." The monumental misreading of the significance of the Indochina War is reflected in the fact that even now John Foster Dulles—the greatest Secretary of State President Eisenhower said he had ever known—is trying to find some justification to intervene with American troops in that war.

There has been a crying need for a first-hand report of Ho Chi Minh's Indochina. Joseph R. Starobin's *Eyewitness in Indo-China* admirably fills this need; it could not have appeared at a more opportune moment.

While in China as a delegate to the 1952 Peace Congress, Starobin felt that "this struggle in Indochina held the keys to larger issues" involving the fate of

others in Southeast Asia, of France itself and French colonies in Africa, of the United States cold war policy. Traveling by train, captured American jeep, truck, horse, bicycle, and on foot, he finally reached northern Indochina, the only American correspondent yet to visit the seat of the Ho Chi Minh government. There, deep in the forest, Starobin spent a month with leaders and ordinary citizens, men, women and children. In *Eyewitness in Indo-China*, he describes with extraordinary clarity and understanding what he saw and heard and learned there.

Starobin met people in all walks of life, talked with them, observed them at work and at play, coaxed many personal stories out of them. From his constant companion Luong he learned about the ancient history and culture of Indochina, the unsavory story of French conquest, the early struggles for liberation, the inspiring story of the resistance movement against Japanese occupation. (Later he met men who remembered American parachutists whose lives they had saved during the war against Japan; and who now wondered if the American fliers and mechanics helping the French troops knew "what they are doing.")

From Vietnam Commander in Chief Vo Nguyen Giap, Starobin learned the basis of the liberation army's strength. One-time professor at Hanoi's Thang Long School, whose wife was tortured to death by the French while his child disappeared, Giap explained the simple point that "our people have morale. They have political understanding. They have President Ho's leadership. In the days when our group of 7 and 10 men were in the mountains, having to count each cartridge and make each cartridge count, it was the same thing—political understanding."

Later a division commander, Vuong Thu Vu, said: "The secret of our strength is our political training. We encourage our soldiers to talk up, to relate the stories of their lives, to answer the questions—who are your enemies? Who are your friends? \* \* \* In battle they are ferocious. The moment the enemy drops his weapons, however, our soldiers are taught to be cordial immediately." (On May 16, the *New York Times* reported a wounded French soldier at Dien-bienphu as saying about the Vietnam troops: "They were laughing. They told us they were fighting for their country. They did not hurt any of the wounded." Another wounded soldier said that the Vietnam doctors "were a lot better than we'd expected, operating and bandaging with real skill, and gentle, too.")

Starobin met Ho Chi Minh, "Uncle Ho" to all, "who works his own garden, types his own messages, teaches the four virtues—industriousness, frugality, justice, and integrity"—to the youth." Uncle Ho asked Starobin: "What would the ancestors of present-day America think, men like Franklin or Jefferson, if they saw American bombers being used to hold back a small nation like ours from gaining our independence?" Eisenhower and Dulles and Nixon and Radford should ponder Ho's comment on what might be the effect of further American aid to build a Vietnamese Army under Bao Dai: "The more arms are given to Bao Dai, and the more the United States attempts to get 'Asians to fight Asians,' the more arms and recruits will come to the People's Army."

Even more revealing are Starobin's stories of ordinary citizens and glimpses of their lives. There is the simple story of the young woman who left Vietnam's forests for the first time in her life to join her husband in Peking: crossing the border into China, she burst into tears as she said, "Look, no airplanes. No bombs. Look how carefree the Chinese women are \* \* \*." And the story of Vietnam's national heroine, Bui Thi Cuc, and her mother, Mme. Vo Thi Hang, who tells the story. Cuc had killed a local traitor who had been placed in power over her village by the French troops after the French had twice burned the village down. Cuc confessed to the French to protect the other villagers, was tortured with unbelievable brutality, died with the prediction of victory on her lips.

*Eyewitness in Indo-China*, however, is more than a collection of eloquent tales of tragedy and heroism that inevitably accompany a revolutionary war of liberation. It presents a graphic picture of the already developing life and society for which the heroes gave their lives. Starobin describes land reform already undertaken, and comments: "In fact, the news that a change in the land system is coming with the approach of Ho's armies is unquestionably one of the strongest weapons in their military advance." He pictures teachers and scholars giving training in the sciences and arts and holding exhibitions and poetry contests

and giving plays and having intellectual discussions in the forest, during the war and on the move. He shows the ingenuity of the workers in the mobile factories in the forest, who had, for example, taken a Chrysler marine engine from an American landing craft given to the French; extracted chemicals from old Japanese bombs dug up from the ground; stolen melanite and smuggled nitrates from Hanoi.

Starobin has written about his sojourn in Indochina in a style that makes every scene spring to life sharply. In describing "a typical peasant household," for example, he writes: "The roof was made of thatched palm leaf and in the foreground were banana trees, sunflower plants and some corn; a pig grunted and scavenged in a small sty nearby. Hard outside the door, a foot-pedal contraption was attached to a pounder, which decorticated the rice in a round wooden bowl. For half an hour the old woman worked the pedal, emptying the bowl into a brown reed basket. Inside, there were a few beds and a table, and the mantelpiece with five lacquered boxes and vases, in which food and flowers were placed in memory of the ancestors at New Year's festival time. In the center of the mantelpiece, an old photo of President Ho. In the corner, a rifle."

Reading this book, one cannot fail to see why the Ho Chi Minh government—the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—has drawn to itself the eager, unswerving loyalty of the Indochinese of all walks of life: it is because, even in the course of the struggle for independence, the people have been tasting some of the fruits of freedom. As Starobin puts it: "The war has been transforming, as a matter of military necessity, those conditions against which the people took up arms, and because of which they gave Ho support. \* \* \* Ho Chi Minh has carried out and is in the process of extending those fundamental changes in the way people live and make their living, for which people have fought 15 years. In Ho's areas, these changes have taken root and borne fruit. New social relations have been created which are irreversible." And Starobin concludes: "No propaganda, no matter how astute, and no flow of dollars, and no reshuffling of puppet leaders can alter these realities."

Eyewitness in Indochina is a wise and exciting book. It is more than a timely book, for it helps illuminate the hopes and aspirations of all the colonial, exploited peoples of the world. Written in the spirit of the best anticolonial tradition of the United States, it should find a wide reading public among Americans whose own Declaration of Independence inspired the Cambodians of Indochina to write in their liberation manifesto: "All men are born equal in right and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights that none can violate, among which are the right to live, the right to be free, the right to realize happiness."

KUMAR GOSWAL.

Mr. SOURWINE. And I would like to offer also for the record an analysis in the nature of a parallel list of the personnel of two magazines, *New Masses* and *Masses* and *Mainstream*, and state for the record at this time that *New Masses* was cited as a Communist periodical by Attorney General Francis Biddle, and that as early as 1947 and 1948, the California Committee on Un-American Activities stated:

Until its recent merger with *Mainstream*, the *New Masses* has been the weakest journalistic voice of the Communist Party. Its first appearance was as a monthly. As the *Masses* it was suppressed by the United States Government for its subversive policies. *Mainstream* was launched by the Communist Party in January 1947, dealing with the field of literature and creative arts.

May that list go in the record, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted into the record.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit 33" and appears below:)

## EXHIBIT No. 33

	New Masses, Dec. 23, 1947, post	Masses and Mainstream, July 1951, post
Allen, James S.	Assistant editor	
Aptucker, Herbert	do	Associate editor.
Aragon, Louis	Contributing editor	
Ausubel, Nathan	do	
Berman, Lionel	do	
Bessie, Alvah	do	
Blau, Milton		Contributing editor.
Bonosky, Phillip		Do.
Boyer, Richard O.	Assistant editor	Do.
Brown, Lloyd	Managing editor	Associate editor.
Carter, Dyson	Contributing editor	
DuBois, W. E. B.	do	Contributing editor.
Dutt, R. Palme	do	
D'Ussau, Armand		Do.
Evergood, Philip	Contributing editor	Do.
East, Howard	Assistant editor	Do.
Field, Ben		Do.
Field, Frederick V.	Managing editor	Do.
Finkelstein, Sidney		Do.
Foster, Joseph	Assistant editor	
Garlin, Sander	Contributing editor	
Giles, Barbara	do	Do.
Gold, Michael		Do.
Graham, Shirley		Do.
Gropper, William	Assistant editor	Do.
Gwathmey, Robert	Contributing editor	Do.
Howard, Milton		Do.
Humboldt, Charles	Assistant editor	Do.
Jerome, V. J.	do	Do.
Kahn, Albert E.	Contributing editor	
Keller, Charles	Art editor	
Kent, Rockwell	Contributing editor	
Kreymborg, Alfred	do	
Lawson, John Howard	do	Do.
Lesneur, Meridel	do	Do.
Magill, A. B.	Executive editor	Do.
Marcantonio, Vito	Contributing editor	
Millard, Betty	Assistant editor	
Neruda, Pablo	Contributing editor	
North, Joseph	Editor	Do.
Peters, Ralph J.	Assistant editor	
Refriger, Anton	Contributing editor	
Robeson, Paul	do	Do.
Schneider, Isidor	do	
Selsam, Howard	do	Do.
Sillen, Samuel		Editor.
Stuart, John		Contributing editor.
Turnbull, James	Contributing editor	
Ward, Theodore		Do.
White, Charles	Contributing editor	Do.
Wilkerson, Doxey	do	

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Kahn, were you ever connected with the National Guardian?

Mr. KAHN. I have written articles for the National Guardian, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Were you ever employed by the National Guardian?

Mr. KAHN. No, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did you know that the National Guardian was also on the list of publications used by the Communist Chinese in their forced brainwashing of American prisoners in North Korea?

Mr. KAHN. No; I did not know that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Mr. Matusow—Mr. Kahn, you have mentioned the names of a number of persons who made loans to you. One such name was Henry Supak. Did you know if that is the same Henry Supak who is a member of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order of Minnesota?

Mr. KAHN. I believe Mr. Supak was a member of the Jewish Peoples Fraternal Order.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Henry Supak who was sponsor of the Bill of Rights conference, New York, 1947?

Mr. KAHN. I would not know that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mentioned Sara R. Gordon. Is that the same Sara R. Gordon who is a member of the board of trustees of the Samuel Adams School of Social Studies, 1947?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that is so, Mr. Sourwine.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Sara R. Gordon who, when slated to appear before this committee at a hearing in Boston, was excused on a doctor's certificate?

Mr. KAHN. I do not know. It is quite possible, since she is not a well woman.

Mr. SOURWINE. You mentioned Mr. John B. Thompson. Is that the same John B. Thompson who is a member of the American Peace Mobilization?

Mr. KAHN. You are naming a group of—I never mentioned Mr. John B. Thompson as a contributor. I think you have got your notes mixed up on that.

Mr. SOURWINE. You did not mention John B. Thompson as a contributor?

Mr. KAHN. No. I think you have got your notes mixed up.

Mr. SOURWINE. Didn't you tell us that Mr. John B. Thompson called, together with a group of persons, to make contributions to your firm?

Mr. KAHN. No. I think one of your aides is trying to advise you of the context in which I did mention his name. But you have the wrong context. Do you want me to set you straight?

Mr. SOURWINE. By all means, sir.

Mr. KAHN. You are talking about Dean Thompson, who received an advance galley of the book, I believe. That should go in another group of notes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Did he have anything to do at any time with the calling of a meeting?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. He did not?

Mr. KAHN. No.

Mr. SOURWINE. That meeting was called entirely by Mr. Mandel Terman?

Mr. KAHN. That is right, as far as I know.

Mr. SOURWINE. And Mr. Terman has nothing to do with Dean Thompson? Is that your testimony?

Mr. KAHN. I didn't say that.

Mr. SOURWINE. Well, is that true?

Mr. KAHN. No. I testified previously that I asked Mr. Terman to take a copy of the galley to Dean Thompson.

Mr. SOURWINE. All right. I will defer the questioning with regard to Dean Thompson at this time, since you placed him in another category. Now, you mentioned Mr. Mandel Terman. Did he contribute?

Mr. KAHN. Did he contribute?

Mr. SOURWINE. He did contribute?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; so I stated.

Mr. SOURWINE. Now, is that the same Mr. Mandel Terman who was affiliated with the Abraham Lincoln School?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was affiliated with the American Committee for the Settlement of Jews in Birobidjan, Inc?

Mr. KAHN. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was affiliated with the American Committee for Spanish Freedom?

Mr. KAHN. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Who was affiliated with the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Mandel Allen Terman who had or has business interests in the Grandville Manor Convalescent Home and the Wayland Manor Convalescent Home in Chicago?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who has an interest in the Cinema Annex Theater in Chicago?

Mr. KAHN. I believe that is so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that theater the outlet for Russian and Polish films in the Chicago area?

Mr. KAHN. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is that the same Mandel Terman whose wife, Jean, and whose brothers, Jacob, Sidney, and Louis, have all been identified as members or contacts of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. Senator Eastland—

The CHAIRMAN. Answer his question, sir.

Mr. KAHN. I will answer the question and make a comment. May I, sir, relevant to this?

The CHAIRMAN. You may answer his question and comment on your answer.

Mr. KAHN. All right. Repeat the question, please.

Mr. SOURWINE. I asked if that is the same Mandel Allen Terman whose wife, Jean, and whose brothers, Jacob, Sidney, and Louis, have all been identified as members or contacts of the Communist Party.

Mr. KAHN. I do not know, and I would like to make a comment.

The CHAIRMAN. No, sir. You do not know.

Mr. KAHN. It seems to me that an effort is being made to pillory a businessman here by introducing material that I know nothing about.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait just a minute. You can answer the question and say you know nothing about it. That is proper.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this the same Mandel Terman who was a member of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom?

Mr. KAHN. I really don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Terman who was affiliated with the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was affiliated with the American Slav Congress?

Mr. KAHN. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was affiliated with the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. KAHN. Yes.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was affiliated with the Chicago Council of Arts, Sciences, and Professions?

Mr. KAHN. I really do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was affiliated with the Civil Rights Congress?

Mr. KAHN. I really do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Allen Terman who was affiliated with the International Workers Order?

Mr. KAHN. I really don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Allen Terman who was affiliated with the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee?

Mr. KAHN. I do not know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Allen Terman who was affiliated with the midwest conference to repeal the McCarran Act?

Mr. KAHN. Can I say "the same answer"? It is shorter. Is that permissible, Senator Eastland?

I would like to have one word instead of three.

Mr. SOURWINE. You have not shortened anything yet.

Mr. KAHN. Well, you are prolonging it, not me.

What would you say, Senator Eastland?

The CHAIRMAN. Ask your questions, Mr. Sourwine. Let him answer the questions.

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Was it the same Mandel Allen Terman who was affiliated with the Midwest Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same man who was affiliated with the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is the Mandel Allen Terman who contributed to Cameron & Kahn the same Mandel Allen Terman who was connected with Russian War Relief?

Mr. KAHN. I believe he was.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same man, that is, the same man as the Mandel Allen Terman who was connected with the Washington Park Forum and the World Peace Conference?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Allen Terman who gave his automobile in 1945 to Russia?

Mr. KAHN. Yes, I believe Mandel Terman gave his car to Russia during the war, during the war effort of the Russians, to help them; I believe that is so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Allen Terman who was chairman of the board of directors of the Chicago Council of the American-Soviet Friendship?

Mr. KAHN. That is so.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Allen Terman who on June 26, 1954, was the guest of honor at a dinner to honor him for fighting for peace and the defense of the civil rights of the foreign-born?

Mr. KAHN. It is the same Mandel Terman who was honored for the work he has done for peace and fighting for the protection of the foreign-born. That is true.



Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who sent a letter to the Secretary of State denouncing the State Department on restrictions on travel to Eastern Europe as reported in the Daily Worker of May 22, 1952?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who attended the American Peace Crusade Conference in Chicago in 1951?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who stated in 1950 that he would gladly die for Russia?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who loaned \$5,000 to the Abraham Lincoln School in 1944?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who contributed to the Abraham Lincoln School in 1943, 1944, and 1946?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Allen Terman who canceled a \$150 debt by the American Peace Crusade in 1954?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know. How much did you say?

Mr. SOURWINE. \$150.

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman—I will change that question—do you have any knowledge as to whether this Mandel Terman who contributed to Cameron & Kahn ever canceled a debt in any amount to him from the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. KAHN. Don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who contributed to the Committee for Spanish Freedom in 1951?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is this the same Mandel Terman who was a member of Progressive Citizens of America?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was a member of the American Youth for Democracy?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who organized a banquet for American Youth for Democracy in 1945?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who attended functions of the Chicago Committee To Secure Justice for the Rosenbergs in 1952 and 1953?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Mr. SOURWINE. Is it the same Mandel Terman who was a sponsor of the Conference for World Peace Negotiations in 1953?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those all the questions on Terman?

Mr. SOURWINE. Yes.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Jenner has several questions, and I thought we would let him proceed.

Senator JENNER. Mr. Kahn, were you a guest lecturer for the Jefferson School of Social Sciences in 1944?

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall the date, but I have been a guest lecturer for the Jefferson School.

Senator JENNER. Did you know that that organization has been cited as an adjunct of the Communist Party by the Attorney General?

Mr. KAHN. Yes. I understand this matter is being appealed to the Supreme Court.

Senator JENNER. But the fact that it had been cited did not make any difference as far as your lecturing there was concerned?

Mr. KAHN. None the slightest.

Senator JENNER. Did you sue J. Arthur Rank, the British film producer?

Mr. KAHN. Yes; I did.

Senator JENNER. For a half million dollars, because he produced a film—

Mr. KAHN. That is right.

Senator JENNER (continuing). Under the title of "High Treason" attacking the Communists?

Mr. KAHN. No. That isn't why I sued him.

Senator JENNER. Why did you sue him?

Mr. KAHN. I sued him because I had written a book which was a best seller and widely circulated in this country by the name of "High Treason," and he thereupon came along and produced a film a month later with the same title.

Senator JENNER. And you lost the suit?

Mr. KAHN. No. That is an assumption. I hope I haven't. The suit is still pending.

Senator JENNER. I see.

Mr. KAHN. And I thought it was a matter of advisable free enterprise to—

Senator JENNER. On the Supreme Court—

Mr. KAHN. Let me answer.

Senator JENNER. Yes.

Mr. KAHN. I said I thought it was a matter of advisable free enterprise to sue on the question.

Senator JENNER. I think you have answered the question.

Mr. KAHN. I think so.

Senator JENNER. That case has been adversely ruled on by the United States Supreme Court?

Mr. KAHN. No, it hasn't been adversely ruled on, Senator Jenner. You are misinformed. Your notes are wrong.

Senator JENNER. All right. Were you a fellow sponsor, together with Agnes Cameron—

Mr. KAHN. Agnes Cameron? You mean Angus Cameron?

Senator JENNER. That is right; and Howard Fast, at the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace, held March 25-27, 1949, at the Waldorf-Astoria?

Mr. KAHN. I hope so. I can't remember for sure.

Senator JENNER. Did you know that this organization had been cited as subversive?

Mr. KAHN. I would assume it was; but I didn't know it personally.

Senator JENNER. Have you ever supported the case of Gerhard Eisler?

Mr. KAHN. Oh, I beg your pardon.

I am sorry. I understand from my counsel that this has not been cited.

Senator JENNER. It has been cited as subversive by the House Un-American Activities.

Mr. KAHN. Oh, well, what hasn't?

Senator JENNER. Have you ever supported the case of Gerhard Eisler, agent of the Communist International?

Mr. KAHN. You will have to leave off the definition, and I can answer your question.

Senator JENNER. All right. Have you ever supported the case of Gerhard Eisler?

Mr. KAHN. I believe I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. Now, how did you support the case?

Senator JENNER. Who was—

Mr. KAHN. I believe there were meetings, Senator Eastland. When Eisler was arrested, when he was trying to—I don't recall all the details of the case, but I remember when he was arrested, or when he was trying to return to Germany, or something, there were a number of people, including myself, who felt that this man had the right to return to Germany if he so desired, as the British also felt he had the right and permitted him to do so.

Senator JENNER. Who was Gerhard Eisler?

Mr. KAHN. Well, are you speaking about his—could that question be more specific? Could you make it more specific as to who he was? What do you mean? He was a man, a writer.

Senator JENNER. A member of the Communist Party?

Mr. KAHN. I don't know.

Senator JENNER. Did you ever attend any meetings with him?

Mr. KAHN. Probably.

Senator JENNER. Did you ever attend any closed meetings with him?

Mr. KAHN. I have, a number of times, said I declined to answer the question—you mean closed Communist meetings?

Senator JENNER. I said, "closed meetings of any kind."

Mr. KAHN. Well, if having lunch with a man is a closed meeting, I attended a closed meeting with him.

Senator JENNER. Has he ever been to your home?

Mr. KAHN. I believe Mr. Eisler was in my home.

Senator JENNER. Did he ever attend any meetings in your home?

Mr. KAHN. I recall none.

Senator JENNER. Have you ever supported the Committee for Free Political Advocacy in its defense of the Communist Party leaders?

Mr. KAHN. Would you repeat that name?

Senator JENNER. The Committee for Free Political Advocacy in its defense of the Communist Party leaders.

Mr. KAHN. I don't recall that at all.

Senator JENNER. Have you ever conspired with any Government employee in the Immigration Department to deport or prosecute any anti-Soviet individual?

Mr. KAHN. I never conspired with anyone, Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER. Were you responsible for any such deportations?

Mr. KAHN. I haven't the faintest idea. I provided the Justice Department and the Department of Immigration with material relat-

ing to the activities of Fascists here during the Second World War. If they were deported, I do not know.

Senator JENNER. In any case, did such deportation involve the certain death or imprisonment of the individuals concerned?

Mr. KAHN. I haven't the faintest idea where they went, or whether they were deported, or whether they were just locked up here. They were Axis agents that I was writing about.

Senator JENNER. Have you cooperated in this respect with Sol Rabkin?

Mr. KAHN. I do not remember whether I cooperated with him. The name, as I recall, is that of a man who worked in the Immigration Department and may have received some such materials from me when I was editor of the Hour.

Senator JENNER. How about Judith Coplon?

Mr. KAHN. I never met or had any dealings with Judith Coplon.

Senator JENNER. How about Jesse MacKnight?

Mr. KAHN. The name is a new name to me.

Senator JENNER. With anyone else?

Mr. KAHN. What do you mean?

Senator JENNER. Anyone else?

Mr. KAHN. I have had dealings with thousands of people. What do you mean? Dealings with anyone else?

Senator JENNER. In this deportation, which involved the certain death or imprisonment.

Mr. KAHN. Yes. I don't know—

Senator JENNER. Of the individuals concerned.

Mr. KAHN. No; I don't know anything about this certain death business or deportation.

Senator JENNER. You have answered the question.

Mr. KAHN. Right. I think so.

Senator JENNER. Now, you have never been in Russia, have you?

Mr. KAHN. No; I haven't, Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER. Is it true that your father—I believe by the same name as yours, Albert Kahn—obtained contracts totaling \$1.9 billion for construction in the Soviet Union?

Mr. KAHN. It is not true that Albert Kahn was my father. Albert Kahn was the industrial architect—

Senator JENNER. I want to get that straight.

Mr. KAHN. Who was my uncle.

Senator JENNER. He was your uncle?

Mr. KAHN. And he was the leading industrial architect in the United States who did work before for General Motors, and so on, and when the Russians wanted an architect to supervise their first 5-year program—and when they wanted engineers to come over from here, they took the engineers from Ford and they asked my uncle to go to Russia and supervise the first 5-year program. My father went along.

Senator JENNER. Did you inherit any money—

Senator WELKER. Your father?

Mr. KAHN. My father went along, Senator Welker.

Senator WELKER. I see.

Mr. KAHN. My mother and my father went, as a matter of fact. My father was in charge of the actual work there. My father stayed there. They took 200 architects and engineers from the office in

Detroit, but my uncle stayed here, because that office had to continue functioning.

Senator JENNER. That contract was a building contract for construction negotiated by the Amtorg Corp., was it not? Do you know?

Mr. KAHN. I was in prep school then. I don't remember the details.

Senator JENNER. Then you did not know Mr. B. E. Barsky?

Mr. KAHN. No. I was in my—you know—

Senator JENNER. Your father was associated with Albert Kahn, Inc., the architects?

Mr. KAHN. That is correct, Senator Jenner. I can't speak for that \$1.9 billion, but it was a large contract.

Senator JENNER. You inherited money from your father's estate, did you not?

Mr. KAHN. Well, I was told that I inherited something, but that I had spent it all, and there was none left when I finally found out about it. I didn't inherit very much, and I borrowed—

Senator JENNER. Did you inherit any money from your uncle's estate?

Mr. KAHN. No. I inherited no money from my uncle's estate.

Senator JENNER. Have you used any of this money for financing the publication of Communist books?

Mr. KAHN. My father died in 1938, Senator Jenner.

Senator JENNER. How old were you at that time, sir?

Mr. KAHN. Well, that is almost 20 years ago, and I am now 42. I guess I was in my early twenties. In my opinion, I have never published any books that I would characterize as Communist books, and I never used any of my father's money for the publication of any books that I have published, although if he had lived, I am sure, sir, that he would have given me money to help me publish such books.

Senator JENNER. You are now 42 years of age?

Mr. KAHN. That is right.

Senator JENNER. You served in the Armed Forces of the United States in World War II?

Mr. KAHN. No; I did not.

Senator JENNER. Did you serve in the Armed Forces in the Korean war of the United States Government?

Mr. KAHN. No. I would like to say as to the first question that I was deferred because the work that I was doing in exposing the activities of Axis agents here was considered of sufficient importance to warrant my deferment from active service.

Senator JENNER. Who granted your deferment?

Mr. KAHN. I do not recall, Senator.

Senator JENNER. Did you ask for deferment?

Mr. KAHN. Do not recall that, either.

Senator JENNER. I think that is all at this time, Mr. Chairman. It is getting late.

The CHAIRMAN. We will recess until 10 o'clock.

Mr. KAHN. Senator Eastland, before we recess, may I say one thing?

The CHAIRMAN. You may answer, if it is responsive to a question. I am not going to permit any speeches, Mr. Kahn.

Mr. KAHN. I will just have to say it outside, then.

Senator WELKER. I think the record should show that Mr. Kahn came up here and asked the chairman if he could be relieved because he was a little tired, or ill, or something of that sort.

Mr. KAHN. What is that, sir?

Senator WELKER. I think the record should show that, instead of your making the facetious remark you have just made.

Mr. KAHN. No. I would like the record to show that I explained, we have had some intestinal flu in the family, and that I have a touch of it. The remark that I just made was not facetious, Senator. I wanted to make a statement that I considered of importance, but since I can't make it here, I will have to make it outside.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be all right. You make it outside.

(Whereupon, at 5:07 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Tuesday, March 8, 1955.)

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